



*From the Original Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
in the Royal Society.*

ENGRAVED FOR

"ELMEST WREN AND HIS TIMES."

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN
AND HIS TIMES.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES

OF THE

Most distinguished Personages

IN

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

JAMES ELMES,

LATE SURVEYOR OF THE PORT OF LONDON;

AUTHOR OF

MEMOIRS OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN; LECTURES ON ARCHITECTURE; ANECDOTES OF ART
AND ARTISTS; DICTIONARY OF THE FINE ARTS;
SCIENTIFIC, HISTORICAL AND COMMERCIAL SURVEY OF THE PORT OF LONDON, ETC.

EDITOR OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES'S DISCOURSES; ANNALS OF THE FINE ARTS; HORÆ VACIÆ, ETC.

There are three Crowns—the Crown of the Law, the Crown of the Priesthood,
and the Crown of Royalty; but the Crown of a good Name is superior to
them all.

The Talmud.

LONDON:—CHAPMAN & HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.

MDCCCLII.



TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, K.G., F.R.S.,

ETC., ETC., ETC.,

PRESIDENT OF HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PROMOTION
OF THE EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF INDUSTRY
OF ALL NATIONS IN 1851.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

THE proposition, execution and termination of the great and wondrous exhibition of the natural productions, industry and arts of all nations, which forms the characteristic feature and the crowning triumph of the memorable year *one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one*, has transmitted the name of your Royal Highness to the most distant regions of the earth, and will convey it to the latest posterity among those benefactors of the human race who have rendered the greatest honour to HIM who is "the author of peace and lover of concord."

THEREFORE a memoir of that period of English history which gave birth to the Royal Society, witnessed

the destruction and restoration of the City of London, produced a Boyle, a Newton and a Wren, and was prolific in the fruits of the new or experimental philosophy—the offspring of the illustrious Lord Bacon—cannot but be congenial to the head which conceived and the heart which presided over the destinies of this mighty Macrocosm—this true Temple of Concord—the Exhibition Building in Hyde Park.

BUT, Royal Sir, there is a private, and, perhaps, a selfish motive that induced me to seek your protection of my unpretending volume, which is a remembrance of the honourable praise your Royal Highness bestowed on my late son's great work, St. George's Hall, in Liverpool, a building which does honour to the taste and munificence of the merchant-princes of that great commercial town, whilst the edifice was in progress under its young inventor's superintendence. Nor can I forget the splendid medallion-of-honour, you conferred upon him, which I hope my little grandson, who is too young to know his loss, may live to appreciate; nor the kind and affecting manner in which our Most Gracious Queen and your Royal Highness condescended to mention the young architect's premature death in the recent royal progress through the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster.

WHETHER the public or the private motive predominated, I cannot, however, refrain from expressing, as one of the great family of man, of the British stock, my humble portion of gratitude to your Royal Highness, for the elevation of our national character, by collecting in our metropolis the great congregation of arts, manufactures and commerce, with professors, admirers and patrons from every part of the habitable globe.

AT the same time, I take leave most respectfully to express my sincere thanks for the prompt and flattering manner in which your Royal Highness condescended to accept my dedication of “ Sir Christopher Wren and his Times.”

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness' most obedient and
Very humble servant,

JAMES ELMES.

PREFACE.

THE quarto volume of "Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren," which I published some years ago, was almost exclusively devoted to that distinguished man and his works. It has long been my intention to publish a new edition of that work in octavo, but the size and number of the plates, the great extent of the appendix and other causes, induced me to defer it.

AFTER some deliberation, I proposed to write a new work, in a more general and less technical style than the former ; taking WREN for the principal subject, and adding illustrative sketches and anecdotes of celebrated persons and of striking events, connected with him and his times : and, as many of these illustrations are of a peculiar character, the authorities whence they are derived are specifically and invariably given.

AMONG these episodes are some which tend to prove the secret, but intimate connection between Louis XIV., many of his ministers and some of his mistresses, with the Jesuits, and the pernicious influence of those persons over the minds of those misguided Princes, Charles II. of England, and his brother

the expatriated James II. There is also, the mysterious embassy of the Duchess of Orleans, to her brother Charles II. at Dover, and her sudden and suspicious death at St. Cloud, immediately after the accomplishment of her mission ; also the secret causes of the expulsion of the Jacobites and their Monarch, whom Louis XIV. had, not long before, acknowledged as the rightful heir to the Crown of England, from every part of France, and many other illustrative facts, which serve to throw a light on the history of the times, and are enumerated in the table of contents.

I HAVE also endeavoured to show, by indisputable facts, how the Crown* of Royalty has been tarnished by the Bourbons and the Stuarts ; how the Crown of the Priesthood, has been cast down and trampled on, by the Richelieus, the Mazarins, the Le Telliers, the Duboises, the Choisy, and others, all eminent in the Romish hierarchy, whose united tyranny and persecution, debauchery, levity and corruption, sowed the seeds of that deadliest and most sanguinary of revolutions, in which anarchy, sacrilege, murder, rapine and crimes, till then unheard of, and which for nearly sixty years has devastated, and is still devastating, the finest countries in Europe : and how the Crown of a Good

* See the motto in the title-page.

Name, has both shed and received lustre from the constitutional Sovereigns, thus worthily distinguished, who, called by the voice of the people in the Revolution of 1668, were elevated to a Throne guarded and crowned by Law ; from the learned, pious and charitable Prelates, the Morleys, the Kens and the Tillotsons, who re-established the reformed ancient Church of England, and worthily supplied the places of the monks and Jesuits, who domineered over the weak and superstitious mind of James II. ; and from the luminous brows of the Wrens, the Wallis's, the Boyles, the Evelyns, the Newtons, and the other illustrious Mag-nates of an age, at once the most scientific and philosophic, the most productive of sublime discoveries, and useful inventions, and in the promulgation of eternal Truth, that modern History has, as yet, recorded ; and as infallibly led, by the cheering effects of civil and religious liberty, to the repression of vice, licentiousness and immorality, by the strong hand of the Law, by the precept and example of the upper and middle classes, and by the exemplary conduct of the well-disposed of the lower, to the present peaceful, free and happy condition of the English nation, as the before-mentioned contrast did to the frightful and astounding French Revolution of 1789.

THE fourth and concluding chapter, is, I believe, the most complete list of Wren's public works that has yet appeared, and proves, as Horace Walpole says, the universality, the abundance, and the greatness of his genius.

I HOPE to be pardoned for introducing a few words, in this place, concerning my secession from a Profession in which I had some standing. About seventeen years ago, whilst surveying the shoals in the Port of London, ascertaining and inscribing the high and low water-marks, from the Trinity *datum*, and other similar works, my sight was so injured, that in about three years afterwards I lost the sight of my left eye, which was of little hindrance to my pursuits. On learning of the great fire at Hamburg, in May 1842, I went over immediately to that city, that I might see how such a conflagration, scarcely less in magnitude than the Fire of London, would appear, and before my return to England, was called professionally into Denmark. This visit led to others in the three following years, having been consulted as to the shoals in the Elbe, from Hamburg to Schulau, a railroad from the city of Stade to the capital of Hanover, a junction of

the Elbe with the Baltic, from Glückstadt to Kiel, and other similar undertakings.

My sight gradually failed from the time of using the minute surveying and levelling instruments, in the glaring sunshine of the fine summer of 1834, till I was compelled to give rest to my eyes, and seek medical advice. Before the end of the year 1844, I became totally blind. During this privation, my late son, the Architect of St. George's Hall, and other public buildings in Liverpool and its neighbourhood, went, by medical advice, to seek a renovation of his declining health, through the means of a voyage to Madeira, the West India islands, etc., but found a premature grave in Jamaica. For nearly five years I remained in this state, neither dispirited nor disheartened. About three years since I was attacked by such a violent inflammation in my left eye, that I consulted my kind neighbour and friend, Mr. George Downing, M.R.C.S., the eminent surgeon and oculist, of Greenwich, who succeeded in giving sight to that eye, which for a long time multiplied every object that I saw into five. He enabled me eventually, by the aid of magnifying glasses of great and various powers, to read the strongly-marked characters of our old English black-letter, its cousin, German, and the bold letters of the Hebrew language, but

the Roman type was illegible, and the fly-legged character of Millius's pocket Testament was all Greek to me.

THE first fruits of this small and limited vision was the little volume called "*Horæ Vacivæ*," published last spring, and favourably noticed by the critics. In the preface to that work I have explained the assistance I received during my long affliction, and in compiling that book, from my youngest daughter, who devoted her whole time to me, as the kindest of attendants, and guides, and, at the same time, my sole reader and writer.

ALTHOUGH by the before-mentioned aid I can read large print in a very small diameter, and write thickly upon lines which I can feel, instead of always dictating as formerly ; yet it is slow and available only by intervals, and totally useless for any part of my professional occupations. Hence, the cause which occasioned my leaving the profession, or, rather, its leaving me ; and under these difficulties, the following pages have been produced, which I hope may find as favourable a reception from my old friends, from whom I have been so long absent, but trust not quite forgotten, and from the Public, as my former works.

J. E.

HOLMESDALE, LEWISHAM,

February 10, 1852.

P. S.—SINCE the last page of this work was written, the mortal remains of another great native genius have been deposited in the ARTIST'S CORNER of St. Paul's Cathedral, near to Wren, Reynolds, Barry, West, Northcote, Lawrence, etc., namely — JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER, R. A., who, for his rare talent of fixing the most splendid, as well as the most terrific, the most enduring as well as the most evanescent of nature's phenomena; and for the harmonious arrangement of the prismatic colours in the numerous and varied prodigies of his magic pencil, may be appropriately called the Philosopher of Art and the Newton of Painting.

The Reader is requested to alter the last note to page 296 from "Grammont" to "Vendome," and to add at the end of the note to pages 364 and 365, Father Daniel should have taken the following text, as a motto to his Royal History—

"Now Jephtha was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of an harlot."—Judges xi., 1.

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SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN,

AND HIS TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. TO THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1625 TO 1660.

“THEY are the best laws, by which the King hath the greatest prerogative, and the people the best liberty.”—LORD BACON.

THE middle of the seventeenth century, was a period of great importance in British history. Europe beheld with awe and amazement, the unparalleled sight of one of its greatest Monarchs, descended from a long race of mighty Kings, allied by marriage to the most flattered Prince of the day, Louis XIV., the wearer of the united diadems of the Tudors and the Stuarts, led from the throne to the scaffold, by the stern retribution of an injured people; and witnessed the immediate establishment of an aristocratic commonwealth, with mailed iron on its sides, zeal in its heart, and wisdom in its head, which raised the nation to a

lofty rank among the kingdoms of the earth, and caused its power to be respected, and its interference, as arbiter in the disputes between France and Spain, sought by those great powers.

STIRRING events pervaded Europe when Charles I. ascended the throne of his peaceable father ; who, if he was the best his tutor Buchanan could make him, “ a pedant,” was something less mischievous to the world, than Richelieu’s royal pupil, Louis XIII., a lawless murderer. At the very beginning of the young King’s reign, Rochelle, the strong-hold of the Huguenots, was besieged by Richelieu, the soldier-priest and Cardinal-minister of Charles’s brother-in-law Louis XIII., whose juvenile education was principally the art of building little fortresses in the gardens of the Tuilleries, and of beating a drum by way of making a noise in the world of Paris. Three attempts were made by Charles to relieve the besieged Protestants and to raise the siege of Rochelle, one by a fleet under the command of the Duke of Buckingham in 1627, another by the Earl of Denbigh in 1628, and the third by the Earl of Lindsey in the autumn of the same year. They all proved ineffectual, and on the last day of October 1628, the brave but unfortunate Rochellers, after enduring those horrible privations, which are so well known to the readers of French history, surrendered to the dire power of famine ; and the French King entered his own conquered city the next day. With what mantle this degenerate son of the great Henry IV. covered his

weaknesses and his cruelties, history relates not ; but his bolder minister, the cuirassed Cardinal, covered his, as he was wont to boast, with his *soutane rouge*, his Cardinal's scarlet cassock, a fitting colour and a suitable cloak for such eminent sons of the Popish Church.

BUCKINGHAM was assassinated at Portsmouth, as he was about to embark on another expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and his royal master found anything but peace at home or honour abroad. In 1630 Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in alliance with France and with the friendship of England invaded Germany, with an army of sixty thousand men and a fleet of seventy sail, conquering all before him with a rapidity and skill, that induced Voiture, to say that he was a conqueror whose least quality was that of being a King ; and that he had all the virtues of Alexander, without any of his vices, except ambition. He gained the great battle of Leipsig the following year over the Imperialists under Count Tilly, but fell himself, in the moment of victory, on the 16th November 1632, in the battle of Lutzen, opposed by the Imperialists under Albert Count Wallenstein, whom Schiller has immortalized in his three transcendant dramas on his career and death. Voiture has eulogized the Swedish hero in a true French sonnet, full of bombast and false taste, making the northern hero his own trumpeter, proclaiming himself a modern Mars, as having eclipsed the glory of Cæsar, making the whole universe stand astounded at the magnitude of

his glory, and to ask what age had ever before seen so great a conqueror? The last couplet, however, is so happy in thought, as to redeem the false taste of putting such vain-glorious boastings into the mouth of an undoubted hero. He thus concludes—

Vivant j'ai triomphé, je triomphé en mourant,
Et choisis pour tombeau le champ de la victoire.

THE poet here alludes to the spot where the hero fell, which is still marked by a rude unsquared block of granite, one of those mysterious boulders which have been transported from the mountains of Scandinavia, and called the Swede's stone (*der Schwedenstein*). The death of this hero gave rise to a contemporary device, of an elephant mortally wounded by the envenomed sting of a dragon, and falling dead upon his enemy, crushes him by his weight, with the inscription, "Etiam post funera victor." This is one of those happy conceits, to which Addison alludes, when he says, "one may often find as much thought "on the reverse of a medal as in a canto of Spenser."

WALLENSTEIN, the Imperial Generalissimo in this great and fatal conflict, who flew about the field of battle amidst showers of bullets, as if he bore a charmed life, was assassinated in his own camp, by order of the Emperor Ferdinand II., who began to dread his power and fear his treachery.

AMIDST this din of arms, the arts of peace, science and literature, began to put forth buds, even in the withering atmosphere of war and bloodshed. In the

previous reign, lived Bacon, Raleigh, Hooker, Camden, Ben Johnson, Massinger, and many illustrious foreigners. Scarcely ten years before the accession of Charles, the founder of the Napier family ennobled his name, and added to the scientific world the great invention of logarithms; Sir Hugh Myddleton enriched his country and impoverished himself, by bringing a supply of pure water from Hertfordshire to London for the use of the metropolis, by that great aqueduct, still called *The New River*, though executed nearly two centuries and a half ago.

TOWARDS the middle of this reign, in 1635, Cardinal de Richelieu founded the celebrated French Academy, which caused such beneficial effects upon the French language and literature, although many of its productions are slavishly eulogistic and adulatory. To instance but a few out of hundreds at hand; M. l'Abbé de Choisy, one of the academicians, in an address to the Academy on the character of Richelieu, says, that if it was said in ancient times, Cæsar, by his conquests, had augmented the Roman Empire; if Cicero, by his eloquence had enlarged the minds of his countrymen, asks if they could not say, that the Cardinal de Richelieu, alone, had done for France, what Cæsar and Cicero together had done for Rome?

THE same academician compares Louis XIV to David and Solomon, or rather, as he says, finds in the great and glorious deeds of these great Princes all the virtues of their incomparable Monarch! If, continues the reverend adulator, if David in the beginning of his

reign, repressed rebellious subjects, if his greatness and power excited the jealousy of neighbouring Princes, if with his own sole power he resisted so many conspiracies, if he took so many cities, subdued so many provinces, and pushed his conquests as far as "The Great River," the Euphrates—if, in fine, content with his glory, he gave peace to people who were no longer able to resist him ; have we not, he triumphantly asks his brother academicians, seen in our days all these mighty deeds re-enacted ?

BUT he calls attention to more tranquil and more glorious scenes. Solomon, he tells the Academy, had nothing in view, but the service of his God and the good of his subjects ; he considered himself placed upon the throne, for no other purpose than to build that august temple which had been talked of for so many ages. Always in a condition to make war or to defend his rights, he enjoyed the sweets of a long peace ; his innumerable and formidable armies kept the neighbouring people in awe, and left the new cities that he had established on his frontiers in safety ; his fleets traversed the ocean to its farthest extremities, and brought wealth from every part of the world. The Kings of the Indies sent Ambassadors to his court, who, surprised at all they saw and heard of his wisdom and greatness, were compelled to acknowledge that his renown surpassed that of every other living Prince, and that all his mightiness fell far below the truth of what they witnessed. This mighty king, before whom all other kings trembled, trembled himself

before the Majesty of the living God. If it was something to raise his Eminence the Cardinal de Richelieu to the rank of Cæsar and Cicero in one, the reverend and loyal Abbé, could do no less than to enrobe his royal Master *Louis le Grand* to all the honour, glory and majesty of David and Solomon in mystic unity.

EVEN the eminent Racine condescends to the humiliating custom, and tells his admiring countrymen, that the difference between the history of Louis the Great and other portions of modern history is, that the latter does not so powerfully impress the mind of the reader; and that instead of recording noble deeds, it gives them but senseless words! In the history of the King, says the great dramatist, all is quick, all proceeds, all is action; you have but to follow him, if you can, and it is good to study him alone. It is an endless chain of wondrous deeds, began by himself, continued and ended by himself, as clear and intelligible when executed, as they were impenetrable before execution. In a word, miracle follows miracle, attention is always alive, admiration is always on the stretch, and we are no less struck by the grandeur and the promptitude with which he made peace, than with the rapidity with which he accomplished his mighty conquests!

EVEN the death of the great Corneille, whom it is difficult to praise too much, Racine, who pronounced his eulogy before the Academy, of which he was so bright an ornament, must turn that temple of the Muses into an arena wherein all must bow down and worship the golden image of the modern Nebuchadnezzar,

not content with being at once David and Solomon, the insatiable maw of the Ludovican Moloch, must be also Æschylus, Sophocles and Terentius, and share with his illustrious subject a portion of his ample robe of glory, which he could well spare, but it should have been more honestly appropriated. The whole discourse is worthy of the two great poets, and with the exception of the misapplied adulation, is instructive, even on that account, and suggestive of literary pride and mortification.

IN this academical discourse the great poet cannot be praised without lugging in the greater hero. The same age, he says, which this day glorifies itself with having produced an Augustus, glorifies itself no less, in having produced a Horace and a Virgil; and when, hereafter, succeeding ages shall speak, with astonishment, of the marvellous victories, and of all the mighty deeds which have rendered our age the admiration of all succeeding times, Corneille, doubtlessly, will take his place amidst these wonders. France recognizes, with pleasure, that under the reign of the greatest of her Kings, flourished also the most celebrated of her Poets!

YET in spite of this share of the Poet's glory (for Louis the Great, deigned to share with the meanest of his subjects), Racine, the assiduous courtier, the illustrious author of *Andromache*, the gentleman in ordinary to the King, says, that something was yet to be said for the glory of their august Monarch, who had *honoured* this departed Genius by his esteem, and by

his bounty ; for about two days before his death, when there remained but a departing ray of consciousness, he sent marks of his liberality, and it must be in the original words, or I may spoil the thought, “*les dernières parolles de Corneille ont été les remercimens pour Louis le Grand !*” A handful of Louis d’ors sent to the dying poet, as *viaticum* to Elysium ! After he had paid Charon, and bribed Cerberus, there would have been but little left to buy a court suit and a Ludovican periwig, for a presentation by Orpheus, the Poet Laureate, to the august Monarch of the Shades.

POETS, painters, sculptors, bishops, priests, abbés, satirists, architects, all academicians, signed themselves slaves on their admission to de Richelieu’s manufactory of *magnificats*, flattery was the badge of all their tribe, the gaudy robe of the academy ill-concealed the gilded chains of the illustrious forty, of whom it was said by a compatriot, that they possessed the wit of four. Their song of praise to their golden idol was

“None but himself can be his parallel.”

EVERY medal has its reverse, says the Italian proverb ; and as a contrast to the one struck in honour of the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., were the Persian’s medallists and inscription writers ; like the French, they might do honour to one of their monarchs, who lived at the time of that detestable and anti-patriotic act. This eastern sage was Shah Abbas II. great grandson of Shah Abbas the great, who when solicited by some zealous defenders of the faith, to pro-

pagate Islamism by compulsion, the Oriental Monarch replied, "The Almighty alone is Lord of men's minds ; "and for my own part, instead of meddling with private "opinion, I feel it my duty to administer justice impartially."

AMONG the eminent foreigners who added honour to this period of European history, are the Elzevirs, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Kepler, Rubens, Malherbe, Grotius, Vandyke, Descartes, and other celebrated men, whose connection with the events I have so briefly sketched, and the before-mentioned British and Foreign worthies.

IN this stirring age, when men's minds, released from the shackles of error and bigotry by the Reformation, began to seek for employment, the British nation stood on the vantage ground of civilization, as an enterprising, powerful, God-fearing people ; the protectors and the allies of the persecuted Protestants in every part of Europe, and the terror of the tyrannical and the intolerant ; then the distinguished family of the Wrens began to put forth its claims to those various and honourable stations, which its members subsequently occupied.

ONE of them, Geoffrey Wren, was Chaplain to Henry VII., and Privy Counsellor to that King and to his son Henry VIII. Another, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, celebrated for his sufferings, and for his patient endurance of undeserved persecutions, was the eldest son of Francis Wren, a distinguished citizen of London, whose youngest son was the father of our great archi-

tect. Matthew Wren was selected by the cautious James I. to accompany his son, Prince Charles, as his Chaplain, in his matrimonial tour to the Court of Spain ; and on the rupture of that negociation, through the arrogance of his gay and dissolute companion, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, accompanied them to Paris, a city more suited by habit and inclination to the latter than the stately formalities of Madrid, and returned to England, after the preliminaries had been settled for the subsequent unfortunate marriage of the accomplished Prince to the daughter of Mary de Medicis, sister of Louis XIII. and aunt of Louis XIV.

BISHOP WREN continued to enjoy the favour of his royal master, and attended him in the same capacity, when, as Charles I., he visited his Scottish dominions in 1633. In 1641 he was impeached by the House of Commons, and was declared, together with the Marquis of Winchester and some other persons of distinction, as not to expect pardon. This inflexible prelate was imprisoned in the Tower for upwards of eighteen years, without ever having been brought to trial. Cromwell more than once offered to release him, but the stern old churchman always refused to owe his liberty to him. One of these offers is recorded in "Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens," as occurring when the Protector, in his declining years, paid, as was often his custom, an unceremonious family visit to Mr. Claypole, the husband of his favourite daughter Elizabeth. Young Christopher Wren, the

Bishop's nephew, afterwards our great architect, was a frequent visitor and welcome guest at Mr. Claypole's house and table, that gentleman being a great lover of mathematics, and the exact sciences, in which the youth had acquired great proficiency. On one of these occasions, the Protector entered the room where they were at dinner, and, as was his custom, took his place, and joined in the family meal. After some time, he fixed his eyes on the young student, and said—"Your uncle has been long confined in the Tower!" to which young Wren replied—"He has so, sir, but he bears his afflictions with great patience and resignation."—"He may come out if he will," rejoined the stern master of millions.—"Will your Highness permit me to tell him this from your own mouth?" quietly asked the interested youth.—"Yes, you may," was the reply, and the colloquy ended.

THE youth, as may be expected, hastened to his imprisoned relative, and communicated the information; to which the indignant prelate warmly replied, that this was not the first time he had received the like intimation from that miscreant; but he disdained the terms hitherto proposed for his enlargement, which were a mean acknowledgement of his favour, and an abject submission to his detestable tyranny; that he was determined to tarry the Lord's leisure, and owe his deliverance, which was not far off, to Him only.

DR. CHRISTOPHER WREN, younger brother of the Bishop, and father of the architect, was another eminent member of this family. Born in London, "a

“citizen of no mean city,” educated at that sound seminary of useful learning, Merchant-Taylors’ school, he went from that civic foundation to its superstructure, the College of St. John, in the University of Oxford, wherein he became one of the fellows, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and held the office of Senior Proctor of the University. He was afterwards Chaplain in ordinary to Charles I., Dean of Windsor, and Registrar of the most noble order of the Garter. In the latter office, he did the state great service, and made posterity for ever his debtor, by recovering many important records, documents, and other valuable property, that had been plundered and dispersed by the rebels when they attacked and pillaged the Collegiate Chapel of St. George, Windsor, and redeemed, for a large sum of money, the three register books of the Order, which are well known to heraldic Archaiologists, by the names of the black, the blue and the red books. These important collections, the faithful Registrar kept till his death, bequeathing them to the guardianship of his son, who, on the restoration of Charles II. delivered his precious trust to Dr. Bruno Ryves, who succeeded to the Deanery of Windsor, and the Registrarship of this truly illustrious and most noble order of knighthood.

THIS Dr. Wren was eminent for his acquirements in literature and science, exemplarily learned, pious and charitable, in the Pauline acceptation of this misused word, and the associate of all the great, good and worthy men of his day. Like his admirable son, he

was skilled in architecture, which was not then debased to a trade, as it has been in later times, and was employed by King Charles, in the first year of his reign, to design an additional building to the palace, for the accommodation of the Queen. The specification and estimate for this erection is printed in full from the state papers of Lord Clarendon, in my large quarto life of his son.

THE four sons of Bishop Wren all obtained honourable posts, and added to the dignity of their name. Matthew, the eldest, graduated both at Cambridge and Oxford, sat in Parliament, and became successively Secretary to the great Lord Clarendon, and to the Duke of York. Thomas, the second son, became Archdeacon of Ely, Charles became representative for Cambridge in the Commons House of Parliament, and William, the youngest, received the honour, when it was really a distinction, of knighthood.

THE most eminent member of this distinguished family, of this "Wren's nest" as it was called in one of the vituperative pamphlets of the day, in which the author attempts to anatomise the Bishop, was born at East Knoyle in Wiltshire, of which parish his father was then Rector. The year of his birth, 1632, is memorable in European history, by the heroic death of Gustavus the Great on the victorious battle-field of Lutzen, and the consequent succession of the youthful Queen, his daughter Christina, whose abilities and eccentricities are so well known, to the hero-honoured throne of Sweden.

THIS singular woman received a learned education like our Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey ; was blessed by the tutelage of the great minister Oxenstiern, corresponded in Latin with Milton, in French with Mazarin, and in Italian with the brave, eloquent, and accomplished soldier John Sobieski, King of Poland, whom she complimented on his splendid victory over the Turks, by which he relieved the Imperial Court and its capital, Vienna, from imminent danger ; calling him the saviour of Christianity, *Liberatore della Christianita*, and saying that she who had no longer a kingdom (it was after her voluntary abdication), was indebted to him for the preservation of her independance and repose, which she valued above all the kingdoms in the world ; “ *Io che regni più non hò, le’ devo la conservazione della mia indipendenza è della quiete, che io più stimo che tutti li regni del mondo.*”

HORACE WALPOLE gives a severe, but tolerably just picture of this capricious Princess, in an anecdote of Michel Dahl, the contemporary and rival of Sir Godfrey Kneller. Dahl who had left the Swedish capital on a tour to London, Paris and Italy, was engaged whilst in Rome to paint the portrait of the exiled Queen. During the sitting she enquired of the artist what he intended to place in her hand ? He replied, a fan. To which, says Walpole, her majesty, whose ejaculations were seldom very delicate, vented a very gross one, and exclaimed, “a fan ! give me a lion, that “is fitter for a Queen of Sweden.” This reply, the noble author naively assures his readers, does not meet

his entire approbation, but considers it as “pedantic affectation of spirit in a woman who had quitted a crown to ramble over Europe in a motley kind of masculine masquerade, assuming a right of assassinating her gallants, as if tyranny, as well as priest-hood, were an indelible character ; and throwing herself for protection into the bosom of a church she laughed at, for the comfortable enjoyment of talking indecently with learned men, and living so with any other men. Contemptible in her ambition, by abandoning the happiest opportunity of performing great and good actions, to hunt for venal praises from her parasites, the literati, she attained, or deserved to attain, that sole renown which necessarily accompanies great crimes or great follies in persons of superior rank.” This Swedish amazon died and was buried in Rome in 1689, and by her own command the following short inscription was placed on her tomb—

D. O. M.

VIXIT CHRISTINA ANN. LXIII.

THE infant years of Sir Christopher Wren were directed by his learned, pious and affectionate father, in the happy retirement of a country rectory. This judicious and anxious parent began to direct the pliant mind of his child to those pursuits for which he was so celebrated in after life. His childish talents were as precocious as his youth was hopeful, his manhood ripe, and his age mature and sound to the last. Formerly, says the learned Isaac Barrow, in his inaugural oration at Gresham College, he was a prodigy of a boy, now a

miracle of a man, nay a demon (or spiritual genius like that of Socrates) of a man ; *prodigium olim pueri, nunc miraculum viri, imo dæmonium hominis !*

THIS parental care, and skilful direction of the youthful genius, produced those early blossoms, which ripened so early, and continued so long to fructify and increase in worth. In Wren's infancy Pope Urban VIII, the learned and munificent Maffei Barberini, employed the eminent architect and sculptor, the Cavalier Bernini, whom he had patronized before he ascended the pontifical throne, to finish and embellish the basilica of St. Peter in the Vatican. Among the additions were the magnificent decorations of the confessional, the mausoleum for this Pontiff, the erection of a lofty companile upon Michelangiolo's superb stone cupola, which to Bernini's great mortification was obliged to be taken down in the succeeding pontificate of Innocent X. as its weight threatened destruction to the substructure, and the gorgeous Baldachino over the great altar in the centre of that cathedral ; this colossal canopy is too well known to require description, except to state, by the way, that its height is eighty-six English feet, which is nearly three yards higher than Inigo Jones's Banqueting House, Whitehall, now used as a Chapel Royal, and its weight 186,392 lbs., or between eighty and ninety tons. Whatever love Pope Barberini might have had for modern arts and artists, he showed but little regard for those of the ancients, or admiration of the antiquities of his native country ; for he destroyed many august remains which the Goths

had spared, and among them he despoiled the Pantheon of Agrippa, one of the finest remains of ancient Roman art, of such parts of its bronze covering and ornament that Attila and Constantine had left, for the construction of the before-mentioned altar canopy, confessional, and his own costly mausoleum, as well as for the less Christian purpose of cannon for the holy Castle of St. Angelo. These holy robberies gave rise to the pasquinade that will ever cling to his name, *quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini*.

THE infancy and youth of Wren were attended with a very delicate state of health. Being the only son of an amiable and intellectual father, this delicacy of temperament caused him to be educated at home, wherein the usual occupations of childhood were laid aside, and a regular course of domestic education began by his father, aided by the Rev. William Sheppard, as his private tutor. This mode of education continued for some time, till, at an early age, he was placed under the special care of Dr. Busby, at Westminster School; having at the same time for his mathematical tutor, Dr. William Holder, Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, and a Canon-residentiary of St. Paul's and Ely Cathedrals, who married his elder sister. Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary, in his lives of eminent men, says of these brothers-in-law, that Dr. Holder accompanied his father-in-law in those troublesome times to the garrison at Bristol; and adds, in a subsequent part of his work, that he "was very helpful to his brother-in-law, Mr. Christopher Wren, a youth of prodigious

“inventive wit, and of whom he was as tender as if he
“had been his own child, who gave him his first instructions in Geometry and Arithmetic ; and when he was
“a young scholar at the university of Oxford, was a
“very necessary and kind friend.” Mrs. Holder is recorded by the same biographer, to have been very skilful in practical surgery, as was usual with English housewives in those days, and acquired reputation by curing Charles II. of a hurt in his hand.

YOUNG Wren’s family troubles began early ; for in his ninth year, his uncle, Bishop Wren, was impeached by the House of Commons, and began his long imprisonment in the Tower. The civil war between Charles and his Parliament was raging. In the lad’s tenth year the battle of Edge-hill was fought ; and the following year witnessed the beheading of Archbishop Laud on Tower Hill, after three years’ imprisonment. The same year deprived the country of its illustrious patriot, John Hampden, who was wounded by a musket ball in his shoulder, in a sudden skirmish with Prince Rupert, at Thame, in Oxfordshire. The King held this great man in such estimation, although in arms against him, that on hearing of the occurrence, he sent his own physician to attend him, but the wound proved fatal. The illustrious Hampden left an imperishable and honoured name in the historical records of his country. The conduct of the King in this case is praiseworthy, and with other, many other instances, proves, that if His Majesty’s head had

been as wise, as his heart was kind, he might have died the death of his fathers.

THE youthful Wren, amidst all these public disarrangements and private troubles, continued his studies, under his able and affectionate tutors, with unabated zeal and perseverance; and the bent of his genius for the strict sciences, and his taste for elegant literature and fine arts, began to disclose themselves in a manner that promised the highest results. The first fruits of his inventive faculty was put forth in 1645, whilst in his thirteenth year, by the production of a new astronomical instrument, which, with filial piety, he dedicated to his father, with a dutiful Latin address, and eighteen goodly hexameter verses worthy of a riper age. This invention was speedily followed up by an exercise in physics, on the origin of rivers, and by the invention of a pneumatic machine. The dedication of the treatise not being so long as that of his *Panorganum Astronomicum*, the name of his first invention, I have detached it from its twin brother in the appendix to my larger biography.

“*Dedicatio, ad Patrem, Tractatús De Ortu Fluminum.*

“*Jurè accepta TIBI refera mea FLUMINA : pulchrè*

“*Derivata suum respicit UNDA caput.*”

The thought of restoring his minor streams to the head or chief river, as a right and not a gift, is ingenious and filial.

THE same year, 1645, is memorable in the history of science and philosophy, as being that wherein the first meetings of those eminent men who laid the foun-

dations and accomplished the construction of the Royal Society, which has continued to this day the chieftain of its class. The continued successes of Cromwell, with his own regiment of a thousand stout men of gravity, imbued with the fiery zeal of Puritanism—substantial freeholders and their sons, all acquainted with their leaders and with each other, well mounted and equipped, and glorying in the name of “Cromwell’s Ironsides,” at Marston-Moor, where they turned the fortune of the day; at the battle of Newbury, where they obtained the same renown; up to the decisive victory at Nazeby, in June 1645, accomplished the ruin of the royal cause, and terminated the Parliamentary War.

THE little band of philosophers who had been engaged in literary and scientific researches within the academic walls and gardens of Gresham College, were obliged by these national troubles to suspend their public lectures, but they continued their peaceful studies in the sacred recesses of their own chambers, the lecture rooms being deserted by the public, and pillaged by the soldiers. To these public lectures and private discussions the youthful Wren was led, no less by his own inclination than by his father, who was a zealous and active member of this academic body, whose object was the investigation of the new or experimental philosophy, bequeathed to posterity by its father, the illustrious Lord Bacon, who writes in one of his letters, preserved in Birch’s Collection—“Since I “have lost so much time with this age, I shall “be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it

“with posterity ;” and worthily did the Gresham Professors aid their great master in executing his desire.

DR. JOHN WALLIS, author of “*Mathesis Universalis*,” and other important mathematical and philosophical works, was a prime mover in the great work of mental improvement. During his residence in London, as Rector of St. Gabriel Fenchurch, he became acquainted with many eminent men of his own class, and renewed some college friendships. These sages held a weekly meeting to discuss matters relating to literature, science and philosophy. Among these searchers for priceless pearls and golden truths, were Dean WREN, Bishop WILKINS, Dr. Jonathan GODDARD, an eminent physician, and the first English constructor of a telescope, Sir George ENT, also a physician, the friend of the celebrated HARVEY, whom he learnedly defended in his “*Apologia pro Circulatione Sanguinis*,” Dr. Francis GLISSON, another eminent physician and skilful anatomist, to whom the world is indebted for the discovery of the capsule of the *vena portarium*, which he published in his “*Anatomia Hepatis*,” Dr. Christopher MERRETT, also an eminent brother of the Faculty of Medicine, the friend and associate of the Hon. Robert BOYLE, in philosophical and physical experiments, Samuel FOSTER, an eminent astronomer, who wrote on the art of dialling, the improvement of the sector, and the portable quadrant, Theodore HAAK, a learned native of the Palatinate, who then resided in London, and has the honour of being the proposer of these

philosophical banquets, with other of the most celebrated men of the day.

IN the two succeeding years this band of brothers lost three leading members, by the removal of Drs. WILKINS, WALLIS, and GODDARD, to Oxford, who took with them a love for such disquisitions to that university. They did not separate themselves from the parent society, but visited it whenever their avocations called them to London, or their presence specially required. The Greshamites carried with them the spirit of the metropolitan college, and formed a similar society in their university. They were immediately joined by Dr. Seth WARD, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Ralph BATHURST, a classical scholar, writer, and poet, of distinguished eminence, then President of Trinity College, and afterwards Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Wells ; Dr., afterwards Sir William PETTY, Professor of Anatomy in the University—the learned ancestor of the present Marquess of Lansdowne, Dr. Thomas WILLIS, a highly-esteemed physician, known by his numerous Latin works on his art, particularly on the anatomy and pathology of the brain, and other illustrious Oxonians, who were often honoured with the kindred friendship of ROBERT BOYLE, whom it is needless to do more than mention.

THE meetings of the Oxford Philosophical Association were at first held at Dr. Petty's apartments, on account of their being at the house of his apothecary ; the dispensatory and medical materials of that useful functionary being convenient for their practical experi-

ments. After the departure of Dr. Petty for Ireland, the members assembled at Dr. Wilkins's rooms in Wadham College, and, after his removal to Trinity College, Cambridge, at the apartments of Mr. Boyle.

THE parent-branch continued its useful labours, as heretofore, in Gresham College, which then occupied the entire site from Broad-street to Bishopsgate-street, on which the Excise Office now stands ; and its spacious and airy quadrangle, planted with trees and surrounded by the lodgings of the Professors and Fellows, is preserved in many a print, illustrative of the archæology of the City of London. The sittings were held on Wednesdays and Thursdays, after the lectures of the younger Christopher Wren and Laurence Rooke, who, among other philosophical treatises, published some on the eclipses of the moon, on the satellites of Jupiter, on comets, &c., and " Directions for Sailors Going to India."

FROM such small beginnings, did our ROYAL SOCIETY proceed and flourish, and the honoured name of Wren is identified with all their acts, from its birth till his death.

THE same year that Cromwell, in mature age, and commanding an army of grave thinkers and determined actors, gained his great and decisive victory at Nazeby, did the youthful Duke d'Enghien, better known as the great Condé, scarcely more than half the age of the commander of the " Ironsides," obtain a great and signal victory over the Imperialists on the plains of Nordlingen, after having two years before, in the twenty-

second year of his age, defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi. That this hero deserved the title bestowed upon him by his country and posterity, no one doubts. After his first victory, he marched into Germany, attacked General Merci, and drove him from his entrenchments near Fribourg, and left the command of his army to Marshal Turenne. Although this older and more experienced soldier, one of the greatest military commanders of his age, doubtless assisted the young Prince in his councils, yet he suffered himself to be surprised, and was defeated at Mariendahl. Condé immediately returned to the army, and gained the victory at Nordlingen. Great as were the skill and bravery of Turenne, he sustained a second defeat in the civil war, occasioned by the tyrannical government of Cardinal Mazarin, and the Queen-Mother, from young Condé, who had espoused the popular side. These, and other great and noble deeds, justly endeared this hero to his admiring countrymen, yet, although poets are always allowed more license than orators or historians, and the French tune their lyres to more flattering strains than most others, as the thousand and more eulogiums and panegyrics on Louis XIII. and XIV., Richelieu, and other gods of their idolatry, prove, they seldom had a truer theme for their laudations than Louis II. de Bourbon Prince de Condé.

ONE of his panegyrists, M. l'Abbé du Jarry, says, in a set *éloge*—"I begin to feel how much I ought to spare my words, in the commendation of a life, whose marvellous acts are so near to us; and when we see

“ great kingdoms and celebrated rivers indicated by the scratch of a pen on a map, I would make you comprehend by one word, heroic acts and famous victories. DUNKIRK ! NORDLINGEN ! LENS ! To these words, what prodigies of valour present themselves to your minds ?”

FATHER COMMIRE, a learned Jesuit, and an accomplished Latin poet of that period, takes up his parable, and makes old *Rhenus bicornis* present an humble petition to this heroic Prince. At first the River beseeches this invincible hero to release him from a yoke, which he can no longer bear without disgrace, and to replace him under the dominion of his ancient masters. Finally he says, he does not require a long campaign, for there are but few cities that could stand against the presence of such an invincible hero ; and adds, as a climax, the time only that it will take you to read this epistle, would more than suffice to finish the war. — *Certè dum legitur tibi his libellus, jam ferè poteras patrasse bellum.*

IN this memorable year, 1646, Christopher Wren, the Westminster boy of fourteen years of age, became an Oxford man, with a reputation of a tasteful scholar and an ingenious inventor. He was admitted a Gentleman Commoner at Wadham College, when his family friend, Dr. Wilkins, was warden, Dr. Seth Ward, another friend, and the Rev. William Oughtred, who was known throughout Europe for the extent of his learning and mathematical knowledge, were then resident. This gentleman, in the preface to his “ Clavis

Mathematicus," published shortly after this time, calls him an ingenious youth, who, although not sixteen years of age, had enlarged the sciences of astronomy, gnomonics, statics and mechanics; *admirando prorsus ingenio juvenis, qui, nondum sexdecim annos natus, astronomiam, gnomonicam, staticam, mechanicam, præclaris inventis auxit.*

WHEN the Elector Palatine, who was at this time in England, visited Oxford, Dr. Wilkins introduced his youthful friend to the Prince, as a prodigy of science. Mr. Wren availed himself of the opportunity to present his Highness with several mechanical instruments of his own invention, accompanied by an epistle, overflowing with the hopefulness of ingenuous youth, which may be found at length in the appendix to his memoirs, before mentioned.

IN his fifteenth year, the young philosopher became acquainted with Sir Charles Scarborough, a profound mathematician, translator of Euclid, author of an original treatise on trigonometry, an elegy on the death of the poet Cowley: a practical physician and anatomist, and the colleague of Harvey, in his work, "De Generatione Animalium." At the request of this highly-gifted man, he translated Mr. Oughtred's Geometrical Dialling into Latin—*Gulielmi Oughtred geometriam, horologium, sciotericorum rationem, ex Anglico idiomatè in Latinum vertit, nondum sexdecim annos natus.*

A HIGHLY-PRAISED specimen of the young mathematician's skill in gnomonics, was a reflecting-dial, designed on the cieling of a room, embellished with various

devices, particularly two figures representing astronomy and geometry, with their attributes, tastefully drawn with a pen, and the following inscription :—

CHR. WREN.

Angustis satagens his laquearibus
 Ad cœli methodum tempora pingere,
 A Phœbo obtinuit luminis ut sui
 Idæam, speculo, linqueret æmulam
 Quæ cœlum hoc peragret luce vicariâ,
 Cursûsque effigiem fingeret annui ;
 Post annos epochæ—

VIRGINEO QVIBVS
 VERE FACTVS HOMO EST EX VTERO DEVS,
 ET ATISQVE SVÆ NVPEÆ.

SUN-DIALS, with apt mottoes and quaint conceits, began to be very fashionable in this age, particularly in Paris, the French literati excelling most others in this species of monitory wit. The following, selected at random from many others, will afford a few examples of their laconic spirit.

CASSIODORUS, who, like Wren, lived almost to his hundredth year, in the active pursuits of literature, science and art ; and in the sixth century excelled in the construction of clepsydras, dials and other curious mechanical contrivances, has a whimsical thought on sun-dials. He says, if the stars could see their majestic courses displayed on so small a scale, by a little shadow, they would, out of spite, change their route, that they might not be sport to mortals.

THE thought proposed to be embodied in a gnomonic motto should be short, as a poesy on a lady's ring,

clear as the sun that makes the instrument useful, and instructive as Christian ethics. Many such are to be found, and the few that follow, are good examples of this style of epitaph.

M. DE FIEUBET, a counsellor of state to Louis XIV., had a splendid sun-dial affixed to the front of his town mansion, on which were painted representations of labour and repose, as supporting-figures to the instrument, with the inscription—

PLURES LABORI, DULCIBUS QUÆDAM OTIIS :

and on another, in the gardens of his country-house, making the style the monitor,

DUM FUGIT UMBRA, QUIESCO.

FATHER BOUHOURS saw the following verse from Horace—

DONA PRÆSENTIS RAPE LÆTUS HORÆ,

which he considers not only well applied, but not so profane, nor so Epicurean as it might at first appear, by a moral paraphrase, *Accept joyfully what the present hour affords*. The Abbé du Mas, a contemporary of Corneille, similarly converts the verse of Martial,

PEREUNT ET IMPUTANTUR,

that we should profit by the present hour, for the passing ones take their flight to Heaven and bear witness before the throne of the Omnipotent, to the good and evil we have done. Another warns its readers, that the present hour is uncertain to all, and is the last to many, —*Dubia omnibus, ultima multis*; and another, no less

briefly and sagely, says, this hour is the last to many, perhaps to thee; *Suprema hæc multis, forsan, tibi.* Another quoteth the royal sage of Judah*, that our life passeth as a shadow, *umbra transitus est tempus nostrum*; whilst another horal monitor selects its motto from the Psalmist†, “my days are gone like a shadow,” “*Dies mei sicut umbra, declinaverunt.*” Horological mottoes are memorable instructors.

IN 1647 the youthful philosopher Wren may be said to have began business on his own account, for in this, his fifteenth year, he took out a royal patent for seventeen years, for an instrument to write with two pens at the same time; which the young inventor thus describes—“That by its help, every ordinary penman “will be enabled to write two several copies of any “deeds and evidences, from the shortest to the longest “lines in the same compass of time, and with as much “ease and beauty, without any dividing or ruling; “as, without the help of the instrument, he could have “written but one. That by thus diminishing the tedious labour of transcriptions of the greater sort of “deeds, indentures, conveyances, charters, and all other “duplicates, the works of the pen, are not only shortened, but the penmen themselves both relieved and “recompensed by an honest gain, with half the wonted “toil. That there will be in both copies thus drawn, “such an exact likeness in the same number and order “of lines, and even of words, letters and stops, in all “places of both copies, that being once severed, there

* Wisd. i. 5.

† Ps. cii. 11.

“shall hardly be discerned any difference between
“them, except such as are merely casual, as spots and
“marks in the parchment. That this instrument will,
“undoubtedly, prevent the mischievous craft of corrup-
“tion, forgery, and counterfeiting of hands and seals ;
“or, if any such foul practice be attempted, will effec-
“tually and manifestly discover it ; for what will it
“avail to counterfeit a seal, or the hand that signs,
“unless a duplicate could be made in every line, letter,
“and dot, like the twin copy, which, without the help
“of the same instrument, is impossible ? So expedient
“might it be to all intents and uses of the state, in
“matters of the greatest consequence, that public acts
“be written by this instrument, for testimony and as-
“surance to all times.”

WREN had scarcely promulgated his invention, when others claimed its authorship. These assumptions excited his indignation, and he asserted his right, in a letter to a friend, supposed to have been Dr. Wilkins, calling to his mind the circumstance of having seen and commended it “to the view of the then great—now greatest person in the kingdom,” Oliver Cromwell. He concludes his expostulatory claim by writing, “Al-
“though I care not for having a successor in my in-
“vention, yet it behoves me to vindicate myself from
“the aspersion of having a predecessor.”

IN this same year the youthful aspirant was appointed by Dr. Sir Charles Scarborough, to the honourable post of demonstrating assistant to that able physician's lectures on anatomy at Surgeons' Hall. No-

thing less than a Latin epistle was considered suitable to convey his exultation to his father. In this letter, which, with all the other Latin epistles and poems, are in the appendix to the before-quoted quarto memoirs, he informs his father of his invention of a weather clock, an instrument wherewith to write in the dark, a Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry, his engagement to translate the Rev. William Oughtred's Key to Mathematics, which he calls "*CLAVIS verè aureæ*," into Latin, and on other subjects. This learned epistle, as well as another to Mr. Oughtred, were probably written to prove his competency to execute the task he had undertaken. To these missives the young scholar added some Latin metrical essays, one of which is on the Birth of Christ, and the other and longest, in twelve stanzas and an introduction, is on the Reformation, or rather Christianizing the Classical Fables of the Signs of the Zodiac.

THIS year is also memorable for being that wherein the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Innocent X. proclaimed to the world the completion of the Cathedral of St. Peter, under the direction of the Cavalier Bernini. This announcement is an epoch in art and history, and, from the circumstance of its founders intending it for the centre-point of the Christian world, which was severed from its unity by the very means which they and their successors took to preserve and complete it, rendered this completion an affair of public importance to all Europe.

BERNINI's skill and taste as an artist was known

throughout Europe. In England his justly-admired bust of Charles I., executed in Rome from a picture by Vandyke, representing the King in profile, three-quarter and full face, established his reputation among the lovers and judges of art, as did his remark upon the melancholy cast of his countenance, do him credit as a minor prophet, after the beheading of the unfortunate monarch.

NOR was the great event lost upon the aspiring mind of Wren, for it diverted his attention from his immediate employments, towards a closer intimacy with the arts of design; and led to the ability of designing and executing St. Paul's, and the entire City of London, alone, and from his sole productive mind; whilst St. Peter's was the work of more than twenty architects, supported by the treasure of the Christian world, and the power of the Roman Pontiffs in their most powerful days, and during the reigns of nineteen successive Popes.

THE Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome, was began by the architect Bramante, the uncle, patron and friend of Raffaello d'Urbino, in the pontificate of Julius II.; was continued by a series of eminent architects; among whom were Giulio di San Gallo, Raffaello, Balthazar Peruzzi, Antonio di San Gallo, Giocondo, Michelangiolo Buonarrotti, who constructed its unrivalled stone cupola, raising, as he said, the Pantheon of Aggrippa into the air; he was succeeded by Giulio Romano, Domenico and Giovanni Fontana, Giacomo della Porta, Carlo Maderno, Luigi Cigoli, Borromini, who disfigured it with

many instances of bad taste, Carlo Rainaldi and Bernini, who is said to have finished it in this year. But many other lesser minds contributed to its construction or embellishment, as Carlo Fontana, the author of a good description of the edifice, Vignola, Pirrho Ligorio, Antonio Cannevari, and a dozen or more lesser men, who were successively employed to bring the building to its present state.

NEXT to the wonderful cupola of Michelangiolo, is the beautiful peristyle or colonnade, that encircles the Piazza di San Pietro, in front of the Cathedral, the work of Bernini. It consists of two hundred and eighty columns, and forty-eight pilasters, each forty feet high, raised on three lofty steps. The entablature is surmounted by a balustrade, on the pedestals of which are placed eighty-eight colossal statues of saints, fifteen feet in height.

THIS magnificent work of Bernini, forms the frame of the picture, the setting of the jewel, and has delighted the eye of every man of taste, from this year of its opening to the present hour, and no period in the history of this vast edifice, could have been more appropriately chosen, for a nominal completion, than when Innocent X. proclaimed the Cathedral of St. Peter finished.

HAVING commemorated the artists, from whose minds the gorgeous structure emanated, a brief notice of their patrons, whose knowledge of their abilities for the task, selected them to accomplish the great work, should follow. Bramante's special patron was the

warlike Julius II., who employed the mighty Michelangelo to execute a bronze statue of his Holiness, to be placed in a church in Bologna. The Pope was represented in the act of bestowing the Papal benediction, with an outstretched hand ; but with so stern and proud an air, that the people asked the artist, if he meant to represent him as bestowing blessings or curses ? During the progress of the work, Michelangelo asked the haughty Pontiff, if he should place a book in his other hand ?—" No," replied Julius, " let me hold a sword ; I am no man of letters." This scene, perhaps, gave rise to the mock-heroic parody of it, in the same place, between little Christina of Sweden and Michael Dahl, a century and a half afterwards, as mentioned in a previous page. This statue was overthrown, when Julius directed in person the thunders of his material artillery against the Bolognese, and, by order of the Duke of Ferrara, was cast into a cannon, a fit representative of the blood-thirsty original. The great work was continued by Leo X., whose unworthy zeal in procuring funds for its progress, by the corruptest means, raised up Luther, " the Monk who shook the world," and that Reformation, which paralysed the Papal power throughout Christendom. Then Clement VII., Paul III., Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., Gregory XIII., Sextus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., Clement VIII., contemporary with our Elizabeth, Leo XI., Paul, Gregory XV., the two last coeval with our James I., Urban VIII.,

and finally Innocent X., the munificent patron of Bernini.

WHILE these works of peace were thus proceeding, and the future architect of the greatest cathedral of the reformed religion was unconsciously preparing for the mighty task of rebuilding a destroyed metropolis, and its hundred churches—protestant England was torn by a destructive civil war, the papal kingdom of Naples was devastated by an infuriated fisherman, Masaniello, and his desperate followers, and France, with all the heroism with which her poets endowed their great Monarch, was also a prey to the civil wars of the Fronde, that were so much promoted by the clever, but unprincipled Cardinal de Retz, who has described them in an animated manner, in his interesting and instructive memoirs of his own life.

THE year in which the youthful Wren published his Latin translation of Oughtred's key to the mathematics, witnessed the termination of the civil war in England, by the execution of the King. Charles was an elegant and accomplished Prince, and distinguished by the possession of most of the virtues that add dignity to private life, being eminently temperate, chaste and religious, possessing a refined taste in literature and the fine arts, a liberal patron of their professors, and a king who did more towards the arts that soften and humanize mankind than any of his predecessors. Yet he wanted firmness and decision, had little self reliance, therefore, was perpetually the victim of zealous and imprudent ministers, and too often

of specious evil-minded and sometimes wicked men. He was continually in error, even to the tyrannical stopping of a ship, in which some of the leading puritans of the country, among whom were Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, were about to embark to join their persecuted brethren in New England ; although, perhaps, his intentions were to act wisely.

Who can develop the secret views of an omniscient Providence ? What evils, and, perhaps, what good might not England have escaped if the sailing of that ship had not been stopped. So true is it that man proposes and God disposes. King Charles little thought he was forcibly bringing back the men who were destined to defeat him at Marston Moor, Newbury and Naseby, to try him before the High Court of Parliament for high treason against his people, an impossible crime, in the school of the right divine of Kings, in which he had been educated ; and although by law he was as absolute a sovereign as any in Europe, was uncle by marriage to Louis XIV. and was benefitted by the interposition of many Foreign powers in his behalf, and by the devotion of many private friends and ministers who took the crimes he was charged with upon themselves, his powerful and enraged enemies gave their unhappy monarch but three days to prepare himself to appear before his God : and in the face of an oppressed people, who sought liberty of conscience and freedom from arbitrary tyranny, and of astonished Europe, was deprived of all ensigns of

royalty, and led to the block as a tried and convicted traitor.

HAD the times, his people, and, above all, his ministers, been as propitious, as peaceful, and as well-intentioned as the misguided Monarch, that dam in the intellectual and civilizing stream which was beginning to fertilize the country would not have been created, nor the people thrown back a century or more in the knowledge and love of art. The King's fine collection of pictures, statues and other works of art, were shamefully dispersed, injured or destroyed. War was declared against the arts, and the churches, cathedrals and other religious establishments pillaged and ravaged. Painted glass, pictures, statues, monumental brasses and records, books, &c. of unknown value, destroyed by the iconoclastic Puritans.

WHATEVER disturbing causes interrupted the harmony of the rest of the nation, they do not appear to have assailed the quiet cell of the persevering Wren. In this, his eighteenth year, he proceeded to the degree of B.A., and is recorded by Dr. Sprat, in his History of the Royal Society, Dr. Hooke, in his preface to *Micrographia*, Sir Paul Neil, Dr. Wilkins and other high authorities, as being the first inventor of the Micrographic Art, that is, of delineating minute objects as they appear enlarged in a microscope. In these works he was occasionally assisted by Dr. Hooke, whose knowledge of drawing, acquired under the tuition of Sir Peter Lely, enabled him to add his graphic skill to this collection of micrographic delineations. Dr.

Hooke afterwards published a scientific account of their joint discoveries, under the title of *Micrographia*.

JAMES HARRINGTON, author of the political romance of *Oceana*, an Utopian scheme for a republic, who was a personal friend and attendant on the King, although a zealous republican, a man of genius, a good scholar and a profound thinker, who more resembled the philosophers of antiquity, who reasoned *à priori*, than his contemporaries of the new philosophy, who chiefly derived their conviction from *induction*, established about this time, a sort of club, or debating society, called the *Rota*. Harrington and his brethren of the *Rota* thought little of the young philosopher, and contemptuously of the micrographers and their pursuits, at a time when, as they thought, all men should be up and doing, to put down monarchical tyranny. In his work "On the Prerogative of Popular Governments," he reflected upon young Wren's cousin Matthew, Bishop Wren's eldest son, who had replied to the *Oceana*, calling him "one of those virtuosi, who had an excellent faculty of magnifying a louse, and diminishing a common-wealth." The hit was good and palpable as against cousin Matthew, who was a politician, a warm supporter of monarchical prerogative, and had voluntarily engaged in a combat of pens; but it glanced off harmlessly from Christopher and his fellow-students of the shady arcades of Gresham College.

ONE of the young philosopher's investigations was laid before the Gresham association, in this year, 1650, and is recorded as possessing great merit, in Sprat's

History of the Royal Society. This was his tract on the planet Saturn, entitled—"Observationes de SATURNO et theoriam istius planetæ instituit, prius quam disertatio Hugonii de iste argumento erat edita."

RÉNÉ DESCARTES, the illustrious French philosopher, whose theory on the general laws of motion, were, some time afterwards, furthered and illustrated by experiments, died at Stockholm, in the February of this year. He was invited to that capital by Queen Christina ; but the severe climate of Sweden agreed not with the delicate constitution of the philosopher, who died from inflammation of the lungs, in his fifty fourth year. In 1666 his earthly remains were removed to Paris by Louis XIV., and interred with great pomp in the church of St. Genevieve du Mont, and a monumental bust erected in its cemetery.

THE Cartesian philosophy, which was much damaged by the Newtonian scheme, and its eulogist de Voltaire, was a sort of intermediate theory, between the *à priori* reasonings of Aristotle and his school, and the modern, or experimental practice. As a philosopher, Descartes has given place to Newton, but as a mathematician he is entitled to great praise. He reduced the laws of refraction, called dioptrics to a science, but has dimmed his fair fame, by claiming the algebraic mode of notation, for which he obtained so much celebrity, as his own, when he borrowed it from our able countryman Thomas Harriot, the mathematical tutor of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his companion during that great man's imprisonment in the Tower. Harriot's work was

entitled "Artis analytica praxis ad æquationes Algebraicas nova, expedita et generali methodo resoluendas," and was published in 1631, a year or two before Descartes visited London and mixed with its learned and scientific men then pursuing mathematical, astronomical and philosophical studies in our metropolis. Dr. Wallis, in his treatise on algebra, vindicated the claims of Harriot, as did Zach, astronomer to the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, in the astronomical Ephemeris of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin for the year 1788.

THE death of Descartes was celebrated in prose and verse, by his niece, Catherine Descartes, who possessed so much taste and learning, that a Parisian wit said of her, that the mantle of the great René had fallen upon a distaff, *que l'esprit du grand René étoit tombé en quenouille*. This accomplished woman was the friend and correspondent of the celebrated Mademoiselle de Scudery, one of the greatest ornaments of the literary court of Louis XIV. The commemorations of her uncle were entitled "L'Ombre de Descartes," and "Rélacion de la Mort des Descartes," the last of which is a mixture of prose and verse. In this dutiful and interesting work, Mademoiselle Descartes gives a fanciful, and, as she terms it, a poetical account of the great philosopher's decease. Alluding to the curious question, which the singular Queen of Sweden called him to her court to solve, namely, the *quæstio vexata* of the much discussed *Summum Bonum*, the Supreme Good, she says, ingeniously, that this great philoso-

pher having taught a new system of philosophy to an inquisitive Queen, who learned thereby the most hidden secrets of physical nature, Nature, surprised and indignant to see herself thus disclosed, exclaimed in a transport of wrath—

Téméraire mortel, esprit audacieux,
Apprend qu' impunément on ne voit point les Dieux,”

and from that moment the offended goddess had determined the ruin of the rude invader of her privacy, and, to revenge herself upon the bold philosopher, overwhelmed him with a torrent of ills that drove him to the grave; following, in some way, the example of the chaste and haughty Diana, who, having been seen bathing by a profane votary of the chase, punished his audacious curiosity by an instant and violent death.

IN the following year, 1651, Wren produced an algebraical treatise on the Julian period, which he published in the Prolegomena to Christopher Helvicus's "*Theatrum historicum et chronologicum*," Oxford 1651, a work which has kept its ground, and been repeatedly printed, although this learned and distinguished German divine and chronologer has, in the early periods, been misled by the forgeries of Giovanni Nanni, a Dominican friar, better known by his Latin appellation of Anniius of Viterbo, who passed a series of fragments of his own inventions on the world as remains of several ancient authors in "Seventeen books of antiquities," printed in Rome, and dedicated to Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1498. The success and

magnitude of this forgery, which imposed upon many others besides the learned Helvicus, is very remarkable, as an instance of great, but unprincipled ability.

WREN'S tract, which contained a mode of finding any particular year that may be required, on giving the cycles, was much esteemed by the most eminent mathematicians of this period, and has been reprinted in all the subsequent editions of Helvicus's Chronology. Although the author's name is not appended to it, Dr. John Ward, in his "Lives of the Gresham Professors" says, it is clearly the production of the young philosopher, and of this early period of his life, from a note, written on the back of the title-page, by Dean Wren, his father, and, in Ward's time, in the possession of Stephen, Sir Christopher's son, the author of "Parentalia." It is as follows—"Denique filio meo
"modestius renitenti incentivum adhibui, ut tractatum
"illum algebraicum, Julianæ periodo (e cyclis in historiâ
"datis) expiscandæ accommodatissimum, sudante jam
hoc prælo Oxoniensi, præfigi finiret."

THE manner in which, and the persons by whom, Sir Christopher Wren was educated, his family connections with the royal cause, and the persecutions they suffered from the Protector, occasioned much trouble to the young student, and had such an effect upon his mind as to cause a remarkable dream, which is recorded by Aubrey, the antiquary and topographer, of Wiltshire, on Wren's own authority. Being at his father's house, at Knoyle, in the year 1651, he dreamt that he saw a fight in a great market town, which he

knew not, where some were flying and others pursuing, and among those who fled he saw a kinsman of his who went into Scotland with the King's army. The King, Charles II., they had heard was returned to England, but in what part they knew not, till the following night this kinsman came to his father's house for refuge, and brought news of the defeat of Charles II., at Worcester, who had just before been crowned at Scone.

WHILST Wren was thus pursuing his career towards the eminence he subsequently attained, his illustrious predecessor, Inigo Jones, the most tasteful, perhaps, of English Architects, was called from the troubles by which his declining years were oppressed, to rest with his fathers, in July 1652. The veteran architect retired from a stage which he had so greatly honoured, as if to make way for his worthy successor, ere those who knew not how to appreciate such genius thrust him off.

INIGO JONES was the reviver of a pure taste for classical architecture in England, in a period when nothing worthy to be called a style prevailed. The mixed anomalous art, that was brought into England, after the decline and fall of the Tudor style, by ornamental and scenic painters from Flanders and other parts of the Netherlands, obtained the patronage of the wealthy portion of the community, from mere caprice, and to be in the fashion. This bad taste prevailed at Court, and spread into the provinces from the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. till the time of James I.,

and the artists Zuccherò and Holbein were its parents in England, and their royal patron Elizabeth its sponsor. Henry obtained part of his taste from the gorgeous pomp of the field of gold, when he met his great-minded adversary Francis I. During this period, more than three-fourths of a century, this wild vine revelled in capricious disorder, and produced nothing but rank misrepresentations of Roman and Palladian architecture, the fruit of classical correctness engrafted upon a wild Flemish stock. This bastard style consisted of orders built upon orders, bows of all shapes, niches of every form, grotesque shells and rampant foliage, heraldic animals, "gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire," tossed about with reckless redundancy and picturesque caprice. Half-timbered houses of divers colours, "black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray," grinning horrible defiance to good taste, infecting alike our language and our art. It terminated its career, to show to what height architectural absurdity could soar, in the portal entrance to the Schools in Oxford, wherein the five orders of Italian architecture, caricatured in the worst taste, are piled upon each other, the brawny Tuscan at the bottom, surmounted by the loftier Doric, and with the matronly Ionic, the feminine Corinthian, and the hectic Composite upon the top, *stratum super stratum*, crown the absurdity. Yet these are the monstrous wonders that the copyists, degeneratists and precedent-mongers are dragging from their cemeteries, to pervert into schools, colleges, workhouses, baths and wash-houses, ale-houses, gin-shops and hospitals, what-

ever be their character ; penal or jovial, scholastic or bacchanalian, all must wear this motly garb, to the utter destruction of characteristic architecture, and the stifling of inventive genius, the surest test of the artist-architect.

THIS aberration of taste received a mortal blow on the return of Prince Charles and his gay companions from their continental tour, who rubbed off their Elizabethan pedantry by foreign travel, and brought home a better taste in art. Vandyke and Rubens superseded Holbein and Zuccherò, substituting nature and truth for dry and tasteless affectation ; and the genius of Inigo Jones superseded the nameless architects of the Elizabethan style, which every man of refined taste must lament to see drawn from those cerements in which they had been quietly inurned.

THE Roman or Italian style of architecture, skilfully adapted to modern domestic economy, was introduced into England by Inigo Jones, who exercised his art with classical purity and tasteful elegance, in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. The most distinguished works of this great artist, are his adaptation of one of Palladio's finest Italian palaces, built for the magnate Biaggio Saraceno at Vicenza, to the quadrifrontal villa at Amesbury, in Wiltshire, which proves the truth of Sir Joshua Reynolds's aphorism, that skilful adaptations are not always plagiarisms. Also the Queen's house, on the northern side of Greenwich Park, which now forms an appropriate centre to the Royal Naval School, and at the same time, an admirable back-

ground to the Royal Hospital, as viewed from the river ; Shaftesbury House, Aldersgate Street, formerly the town mansion of the nobleman of that title, and now divided into a series of shops, and the establishment of the General Dispensary ; some town-houses on the southern side of Long Acre, the Corinthian capitals of which, and their pilasters, are still in existence ; some mansions on the west side of Lincoln's-inn-fields, the ground-plot of which he set out the same size as the base of the great Egyptian pyramid ; and the great piazza of Covent Garden, which is fast disappearing under the innovations of speculative builders.

AMONG Jones's most celebrated mansions, was that of the late Dukes of Bedford, which occupied the whole north side of Bloomsbury Square, and, with its spacious gardens and pleasure grounds, the entire areas of Tavistock and Russell Squares, almost up to the New Road. It was taken down to give place to the more profitable occupation of its site, by rows of houses that form that brown brick suburb of the metropolis. I well remember it, as a complete Italian villa, carefully adapted to our variable climate, and containing, among its state apartments, an extensive picture gallery. Among its treasures was the fine set of copies of Raffaele's cartoons, painted in flat turpentine colours, by Sir James Thornhill, and presented to the Royal Academy of Arts, by Francis Duke of Bedford, at the demolition of Bedford House.

ANOTHER of his fine buildings is Harcourt House,

on the west side of Cavendish Square, still existing in almost its primitive state. This is not an upholsterer's mansion, all carpeting, paper-hanging, and *papier-machée*; but a solid, substantial edifice, of sound brick and stone work, with marble sculptures, fine oak carvings, noble apartments, and fine staircases which lead to princely chambers; built to endure for ages, and for the occupation of a noble English family, which can boast, like the Italian notables of old, that it was built by their ancestors generations ago, and has never been occupied by any but of their own race. To do justice to his architect the noble founder of the building has placed his bust in a conspicuous part of the principal front.

AMONG other of Jones's works still extant, is the dormitory of Westminster School, the exterior of which is marked by the prevailing character of his style, a correct manly simplicity, and a just proportion of the component parts, characteristic of its use. The interior of the upper story is plain, and sufficiently adapted for the aristocratic scions who occupy it; and is occasionally used as a theatre for the performance of Latin plays by the Westminster scholars.

In enumerating the works of this eminent architect, his vast and splendid portico of the old Cathedral of St. Paul, that was destroyed by the great fire of London, must not be omitted. Its proportions and dimensions may be seen in the collection of Jones's architectural works, collected and published by Kent in 1727, at the expense of the Earl of Burlington, himself no mean

architect. But the vastness and grandeur of this magnificent portico, superior to any in England, and perhaps in Europe, may be better imagined than described. Of the propriety of affixing a Corinthian portico to a Gothic cathedral, much cannot be said in defence ; but it has been supposed that the architect contemplated the rebuilding of the church as a Christian cathedral, like that of St. Peter of Rome, in a similar style with his portico.

THESE works and some unexecuted designs, with other buildings of minor importance, preserved in Kent's before-mentioned collection, show the fertility of Jones's mind, and the skill with which he adapted the best styles of Roman and Italian Architecture to the domestic conveniences of an English family in our variable climate. His church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, which he built for the parsimonious Duke of Bedford, who spent so much money upon his Bloomsbury mansion, that he had but little left for the house of God, and told his architect, that he wanted a mere barn for his Covent Garden tenants. The artist bowed compliance, but assured his noble patron, that it should be the finest barn in Europe, and well did he redeem his promise ; for it proves the skill with which this tasteful and ingenious artist could use the plainest style and the humblest materials. It produced the desired effect, both as to the patron's pocket and the architect's fame. It stands alone as a master-piece of frugal taste, the work surpassing the material. It is the only specimen

of the true Vitruvian Tuscan ever known to have been executed.

HERIOT'S Hospital, near Edinburgh, an early work of the artist, before he had matured his taste by foreign travel, and a study of the best models of ancient and modern art, has little to recommend it, except the simplicity and aptitude of the design to its intended purpose.

JONES'S greatest work, is the magnificent palace which he designed for James I., to be built at Whitehall. The Banqueting-house, now used as a military chapel, is the only portion of the grand scheme that was erected. It would have covered an immense plot of ground, extending from Charing Cross on the north to Richmond Buildings, by Parliament Street on the south, and from the River Thames on the east to the parade in St. James's Park on the west, including the site now occupied by the Treasury buildings, Melbourne House, the Horse Guards and the Admiralty offices, etc., as far as Spring Gardens. Four buildings, similar in external design with the Banqueting-house, are in the design, one opposite to it, and the others, one near Scotland Yard, and the other opposite thereto, and were to be used respectively as a banqueting-room, a royal chapel, a throne-room, and a hall of audience. They were to have been connected by a variety of state and domestic apartments, official residences, spacious courts for light and air, and every requisite accommodation fit for a royal palace for the greatest Monarch in Europe. The circular court, surrounded by an

arcade, supported by statues, thence called the Court of Caryatides, is one of the finest ideas that was ever devised by the mind of an architect. The whole design is a perfect school for an architectural student, and would furnish texts for a series of lectures on architectural expression or appropriate character, arrangement, grandeur, internal arrangement and domestic comfort, worthy the talents of the most accomplished architect of the day.

DURING the time employed by Inigo Jones in studying the works of the great masters of his art in Italy, it is probable that he encountered his eminent countryman, Sir Henry Wotton, in Venice, as this tasteful connoisseur and able illustrator of the Vitruvian art was then ambassador from King James to the Doge. The King's brother-in-law, Christian IV. of Denmark, who had heard of Inigo's fame from that city of canals and palaces, introduced him to the British Monarch, who thereupon appointed him his architect.

JONES'S style after his return from Italy, bears record to his improvement in taste and purity, in fact, he may be called the reformed Palladio. He visited Italy twice, and enjoyed the friendship and patronage of the celebrated Earl of Pembroke, and of other enlightened and accomplished men, native and foreign.

WILLIAM HERBERT, Earl of Pembroke, a noble poet and a munificent patron of literature and art, employed Inigo to make additions to his family seat at Wilton, the porch of which was the work of Holbein. Jones's classical additions are apparent, and contrast

nobly with the trivial and petty conceits of the other parts. The triumphal arch is grand, and presents an imposing effect in many points of view. It is also remarkable, from the position of the equestrian statue which surmounts its summit, being sideways with the front and rear of the arch, like that of the Duke of Wellington in Piccadilly, which occasioned so much discussion at the time of its erection. The accomplished mother of this accomplished son, was sister to the chivalric brothers, Sir Robert and Sir Philip Sidney, as is commemorated by Ben Johnson in his admired epitaph on this lady—

Underneath this sable hearse
Lies the subject of all verse ;
SIDNEY's sister, PEMBROKE's mother.
Death ere thou hast kill'd another,
Fair and learn'd and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.

THE quadrangle of St. John's College, Oxford, is among the works of this architect, which, with the Chapel Royal St. James's, and the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, shows how little feeling he had of our best English ecclesiastical style of architecture. Coleshill, in Berkshire, Cobham Hall in Kent, and the Grange, in Hampshire, show with what skill and taste he adapted the beauties of Italian architecture to the comforts of English domestic life, and the variableness of our climate.

INIGO JONES, like Wren and Milton, was a Londoner, born in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, about

the year 1572. His father was a Clothworker and apprenticed him to a carpenter and joiner, in which trades he exhibited great dexterity, and a manifest love for drawing, not only architectural and mechanical diagrams, but also in landscape painting, a specimen of which is in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chiswick House. These talents recommended him to the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Pembroke, by the latter of whom, he was sent to France and Italy. When he was in Rome, he found himself in a congenial sphere, and accompanied by men of similar minds, he visited the palaces and royal residences of Rome, Florence, Milan, Venice and other parts of tasteful Italy. In this tour he became so renowned that the Danish King sent for him from Venice to Copenhagen, and appointed him his architect.

WHEN the King of Denmark paid a royal visit to King James, who had married his sister, the Princess Anne, he brought his honoured architect in his suite. On his arrival in London, he was appointed architect to the Queen and to Prince Henry, on whose death he revisited the classic land of Italy, taking with him the reversionary appointment from King James of Surveyor General of His Majesty's Works. On his second return, he began that brilliant career of art, which has just been briefly sketched. That Jones's taste was improved, and his mind enlarged by his constant association with Lord Bacon, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Henry Wotton, Ben Jonson, and other illustrious Englishmen, as well as with learned and accomplished foreigners, is clear from the improved

style of his works after his travels. One maxim of Lord Bacon, Jones seems to have followed — that houses are built to live in, not to look at ; and his description of a palace, in the forty-fifth of his incomparable essays, that “ On Building,” he gives a description of a royal palace, in opposition to such huge, showy buildings as the Vatican, the Escorial and others, so much in the style of arrangement adopted by Jones in his design for that of King James, that proves kindred spirits, if not consociation on the subject, between the great philosopher and the great architect.

ON the death of King James, Jones was continued in his offices and favour by his son and successor, King Charles, and became associated in his tasteful employments with Rubens, Vandyke, Chapman, the first translator of the whole of Homer’s works into English, whose version Waller could never read without emotion, nor Pope without profit ; Sir William Davenant, whose life was saved by Milton during the Protectorate, and who did the same kind favour for Milton after the Restoration of Monarchy ; Ben Jonson, and Daniel, the poet and historian, the friend of Lord Pembroke, tutor to the celebrated Lady Anne Clifford, and the successor of Spencer in the laureateship, of whom Southey sweetly sings—

That wreath which in ELIZA’S golden days,

My master dear, divinest Spenser wore ;

That which rewarded Drayton’s learned lays,

Which thoughtful Ben and gentle Daniel wore.

Grin, Envy, through thy rugged mask of horn !

In honour it was given, in honour is it worn.

JONES also designed buildings for Rubens, the Prince of Colourists, to decorate with his gorgeous pencil ; together with scenes, machines, decorations, dresses, and embellishments for poetical masques, plays, etc. for the most illustrious poets of his time. He was more of an artist, by education than Wren, had a finer taste in art, had seen more of the best works of the great Italian and ancient Roman masters, had associated more with wits and men of pleasure than his eminent successor ; but he was less of a mathematician, had a less expanded mind, and was less of a philosopher. Among Wren's architectural works, perhaps there is not one, that equals Jones's water-gate at the bottom of Buckingham Street, York Buildings, for invention and taste ; and certainly nothing of Jones's equals in scientific construction anything executed by Wren.

AFTER the death of Charles I, Jones adhered to the family and party of his royal master. Being both a cavalier and a papist, he suffered in the civil wars ; was heavily fined as a malignant, persecuted in every way, and brought down to the grave by sorrow and suffering in the eightieth year of his pilgrimage, the 21st July 1652. His honoured remains were quietly entombed in the church of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, a short distance from the spot, where he drew his first breath.

PHILOSOPHERS must unbend, and the philosophers of "the club" and of Gresham, did sometimes relax the tenuity of their bow, and leave it but slightly strung. The drama was one of their relaxations, but nothing

less classical than the productions of Greece and Rome befitted the flowing wigs and doctorial gowns of these lovers of sober gravity. One of these amusements is recorded by Isaac Reed, the learned and acute editor of Shakspeare's works, and the best read man of his day, in the dramatic history and literature of the best ages. In an old quarto play, that belonged to this eminent dramatic critic and collector, he has written "This is the play in which Sir Christopher Wren, our great English architect, performed the character of Neanias, before the Elector Palatine, Dr. Seth Ward, and many others, probably in 1652. Isaac Reed, 1801." The title of the comedy in question is "Hey for Honesty, down with Knavery. Translated out of Aristophanes his *Plutus*, by Thomas Randolph : augmented and published by F. J., London : printed in the year 1651." Mr. Reed does not mention whether it was the original, or the translation by Randolph, the brother-in-the-muses to Ben Johnson, and author of "The Muse's Looking-glass," and other comedies of great merit. Wren is not our only architect who has diverted himself with Thespian sports ; Vanburgh was not only the architect to the original Haymarket Theatre, but was joint manager thereof with Congreve, and contributed many very witty, if not particularly decent comedies for the gratification of the licentious audiences of his period. John Nash, also, who built the present exterior and the recent interior, was both an actor and an architect, delighting country audiences at Wrexham, with his Lord Ogleby

in his younger days, and disfiguring the British metropolis in his elder days, with many instances of unrefined taste, some of which scarcely survived their perpetrator, who has given his name to the *Nash-ional* style of the early part of the nineteenth century. Charles Matthews, the younger, was originally educated as an architect under the elder Pugin, and held an office conjointly with the writer of these pages, of surveyors to a Fire-insurance Company. Mr. Jones, the admirable genteel comedian of Covent Garden Theatre, and since professor and teacher of elocution, was also of the architectural profession.

IN November, 1653, Wren was elected a Fellow of All-Soul's College, Oxford, a month after he had completed his one-and-twentieth year, and in the following month proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts. Although his time was fully occupied in his studies, and in attending the Oxford branch of Greshamites, he went up to London to justify his claim to the invention of the diplographic instrument, and appealed to the judges in behalf of that right. In his letter to Dr. Wilkins, to whom, as well as to Oliver Cromwell, he appeals as witnesses to the priority of his invention, he calls the latter, "the then great, now greatest person in the nation," he alludes to this memorable year, wherein Cromwell dissolved the long parliament, put an end to the parliamentary democracy, and proclaimed the nation to be a Commonwealth, and himself Sovereign, with the title of Lord High Protector of England. Thus, the then great man became now the

greatest man in the nation, and, as Lord High Protector, made peace with Holland. This year also witnessed the solemn abdication of the crown of Sweden by the youthful, accomplished, and eccentric Christina, who has been previously alluded to in these pages, that she might have freedom to prosecute those licentious plans of ideal happiness, which presented themselves to her imagination.

IN spite of these political and moral hurricanes which at this time convulsed all Europe ; literature, science, wit, pleasure and philosophy, flourished in the gay, unthinking and profligate capital of France, then the resort of the exiled King and his friends, the gallant cavaliers who shared his misfortunes ; and more healthily in the sacred recesses of Oxford and Gresham, in sober reflecting England. Wren and his philosophical colleagues proceeded in their labours of love, amidst bullets and brawls, almost in danger of the fate of their predecessor, Archimedes, from the brutal Roman soldier, who, in spite of the commands of his General, Marcellus, slew the unconscious discoverer of the doctrine of gravitation, whilst delineating an experimental diagram in the sand.

GERMANY, released from the soul-enslaving trammels of paganized Christianity, added to the intellectual wealth of nations. About this time, Otto Guericke, educated in the leading universities of Protestant Germany, improved by travel among the learned, the spiritual, and the philosophical men of France and England, settled at Magdeburg, under the patronage

of the Elector of Brandenburg, to whom he became a Privy Councillor, and held the important office of Burgermeister and Consul to that fortified city. His researches into the doctrine of pneumatics, particularly as to the pressure of the atmosphere, contained in the "*Experimenta Magdeburgica*," which he published in 1672, led to the investigation of this science ; and the year 1654 is the reputed date of the invention of the air-pump. The discovery of atmospheric pressure began by the application of two brass hemispheres, perfectly fitted to each other, which, being applied together, and the included air exhausted by his pump, sixteen horses were not able to separate them. He also invented what he called the glass marmoset, which descended in a tube in rainy weather, and rose again when it became fair. This last machine fell into disuse on the invention of the barometer, which has been attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, till which time Guericke used his marmoset to foretel storms, and made many of the German peasants to look upon the philosopher as a sorcerer, and the magic figure as his imp. On one occasion his house was struck with lightning, and many of the curious machines and instruments which he had constructed for his philosophical experiments having been injured, they asserted that it was a judgment of Heaven for his impiety.

WREN and the more quiet members of these philosophical associations pursued their investigations in Oxford ; but others although attached to these studies, were forced by circumstances to enter upon the more

active stage of public affairs, yet did not entirely give up their studies. John Evelyn, who every where does justice to his young contemporary, says in his diary for this year, 1654, "July 11, was the Latin sermon, " which I could not be at, being taken up at ALL " SOULS', where we had music, voices and theorboes, per- " formed by some ingenious scholars. After dinner I " visited that miracle of a youth, Mr. CHRISTOPHER " WREN, nephew to the Bishop of Ely." In another of his works, "SCULPTURA, or the History and Art of Chalcography, or Engraving on Copper," he gives the following testimony, after some commendation of men of science—"Such at present is that rare and early " prodigy of universal science, Dr. CHRISTOPHER WREN, " our worthy and accomplished friend."

IF the invention of the barometer is not entirely due to Wren, he added so much to its improvement, and boasted so little of his multitudinous productions, that there is little wonder at its being attributed to him. His was the age of philosophical inquiry, experiment and discovery, and his was just the mind to dart upon a suggestion, and improve it to a practical purpose. In 1655, Mr. Henry Oldenburg, a native of the Duchy of Bremen, a relative of the Count Oldenburg, of Westphalia, came to London as Consul for his native town, but preferring science and literature to politics and commerce, he entered himself a student in the University of Oxford, by the name and addition of "Henricus Oldenburg, Bremensis nobilis Saxo*."

* MARTIN'S *Biographia Philosophica*, p. 409.

He was soon admitted a member of the Philosophical Society, and when it began to assume a more regular form, became its first secretary, and afterwards one of the original members of the Royal Society. This person was suspected of clandestinely conveying the discoveries and inventions of his associates to France and Germany. The author of *Parentalia* asserts that he did so, and particularly many of Wren's, which were claimed and published by others as his own. As a corroboration of the truth of this conduct, is the fact, that Oldenburg was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the exiled royalists, and subsequently discharged, on his correspondence not being political. Evelyn mentions, in his diary, that he visited Mr. Oldenburg, a close prisoner in the Tower, being suspected of writing political intelligence ; and expresses his conviction that he will prove innocent of treasonable correspondence. The discovery that his communications were not political, probably led to his discharge, but renders the charge of betraying the secrets of the Society, with which the Government had no concern, by so much the stronger.

THIS breach of trust, may, or may not have carried the experiments, then in progress, on the barometer, to the continental philosophers ; but the date generally ascribed to its invention by Torricelli*, the friend and amanuensis of Galileo, and one of the most able professors of mathematics, physics and astronomy, in

* BUONAVENTURA'S Life of Torricelli.

Europe, who was born four-and-twenty years before Wren, and died in the nine-and-thirtieth year of his age, when the latter had scarcely accomplished his fifteenth year, takes away all claim to the original invention from Wren or any of the Gresham professors.

TORRICELLI, under the instruction of his great master, Galileo, and the protection of their mutual patron, Ferdinand II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, pursued the same studies as the Gresham philosophers, made many improvements in the construction of microscopes and telescopes, and is generally considered to have been the first to ascertain the weight of a column of air, by the neater and more scientific mode of mercury in a glass tube, instead of the ruder method of establishing the same fact, by a much greater tube filled with water or wine. This more perfect instrument, the barometer, or baroscope, as it was then called, is therefore affiliated to this ingenious man, and named after him, the Torricellian tube.

DR. WILLIAM DERHAM, an eminent philosopher and divine, well known by his works on Physico and Astro-theology, in his account of the philosophical experiments and observations of Dr. Hooke and others, says, "the inventor of the barometer was Torricelli in 1643. Yet to do every one justice," he adds, "the real use of the instrument, and the discovery that it was the gravitation of the atmosphere regulated the height of the quicksilver, which the learned abroad, particularly Torricelli, had only suspected, was first demonstrated by Boyle on the suggestion of Wren.

“ Before this discovery, the rise and fall of the mercury
“ in the tube had been erroneously attributed to the
“ moon’s influence upon fluids, as in the instance of
“ tidal phenomena.”

DR. DERHAM, on the authority of a scientific friend, whom he does not name, says, that “ Torricelli invented the barometer when he was assisting Galileo, “ and that it was brought from Florence, by some of “ the numerous friends of Father Mersenne, better “ known by his scholastic name Marinus Masennus, “ the schoolfellow and friend of Descartes, and the discoverer of the cycloidal curve, which he called, *curve* “ *roulette* ; and communicated by him to the French “ *savans* in 1644. Pascal was informed of it, by M. “ Petit, a well known mathematician and civil engineer, “ intendant general of fortifications under Louis XIV, “ and they conjointly made experiments with the newly “ invented instrument at Rouen, and became convinced “ of its truth by repeated trials which were attended “ with the same results as in Florence.”

SHORTLY after these experiments, they made some others, with a tube forty-six feet in length, filled sometimes with water, and at others with wine ; accounts of which were published by Pascal, in his treatise “ On “ the Equilibrium of Fluids, and on the Weight of the “ Air,” published in 1647, the year wherein Pascal was first informed of the important discovery. Pascal, whose genius developed itself as early in life as Wren’s, devised an instrument for the same purpose with double tubes, one inside of the other, which he described in

1647, and with additions in 1648. He tried these instruments on the summits of hills and buildings, and in valleys of various depths. These experiments were subsequently claimed by Descartes, on the ground that he had suggested them, predicting the results, which Pascal had doubted.

THE new instrument soon attracted the attention of the patriarchal philosopher, Valeriano Bolzano, the learned tutor of Hippolyto and Alexander de Medicis, the *nephews* of Pope Clement VII, and the companion of the most celebrated scholars of his age, and was speedily communicated by him to his friend and correspondent Otto Guericke, whom he met at Ratisbon, in 1644. These are among the circumstances that gave rise to the suspicion of Oldenburg, "*nobilis Saxo*" having communicated the Oxford experiments and discoveries, as they transpired, to his countrymen and friends in Germany and France.

THE share which Wren had in this important discovery, may be collected from the register books of the Royal Society of London, wherein it is recorded, that at a meeting in 1678, when Descartes still adhered to his theory that the rise and fall of the fluids in the tube were occasioned by the moon's influence, and the French and Italian experiments where upon theories also distinct from those in England, several discussions took place upon the barometer, and the pressure of the atmosphere. On one of these important discussions, Viscount Brouncker, its first President, was in the chair, and the subject was clearly explained, and its phœno-

mena elucidated by Dr. Hooke and other members ; the debate was adjourned to a subsequent meeting, when Mr. Henshaw, the intimate friend* and travelling companion of John Evelyn, and Vice-president, was in the chair. "The minutes of the last meeting," says Dr. Birch, in his History of the Royal Society, "gave occasion to discourse further concerning the theory, and from what causes the variations thereof might proceed. Some of the members were of opinion that they were caused by the ebbing and flowing of the air, like a tide, but with inconstant motions. Dr. Hooke repeated his opinion, that it was caused by the variable pressure of the atmosphere, with a promise to elucidate his theory by experiments, at the next meeting. Sir Jonas Moore, who was mathematical tutor to the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and is entitled to the gratitude of posterity, for having, when President of Christ's Hospital, caused the establishment of the mathematical school in that seminary of useful learning, informed the Society, that he had in his possession some papers by Mr. Townley, and some of later date by Mr. Flamstead, who had constructed two barometers for him, to the same effect."

* Evelyn's opinion of this gentleman may be collected from letters in his diary, and from the following dedication of some etchings of views between Rome and Naples, to his fellow traveller—"Domino Dom. Thomæ Henshaw, Anglo, omnium eximiarum et prædarissimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo, et συνοψάμενῳ ἀντὶ (non propter operis pretium, sed ut' singulare amoris sui testimonium exhibeat) primas has ἀδοκίμασις aquâ forti excusas et insculptas, Jo. Evelynus delineator. D. D. C. Q."

FROM these proceedings, it appears that experiments had been formerly tried, and the Society resolved to try others, and to inquire how the experiment of the different pressure of the atmosphere came first to be thought of. To this question it was replied, "that it was first propounded by SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, in order to examine M. DESCARTES' hypothesis, whether the body of the moon presses upon the air, and consequently, also, upon the body of the water ; and that the first trial thereof was made at Mr. Boyle's chamber in Oxford." The rest of the debate by the chairman, Mr. Henshaw, Drs. Halley, Grew and Croune, which all tend to prove, whoever may have been the inventor of the tube, that Wren is entitled to the merit of ascertaining its nature and properties, the cause of its fluctuations, and of its use in determining the gravity of the air. Dr. Hooke had also observed, that the height of the mercury in the tube did not conform itself to the moon's motion, as affirmed by Descartes, but to the different gravity of the atmosphere.

NOTWITHSTANDING these facts, the author of a work, entitled "*Traitez de l'equilibre de liqueurs, etc.*" published in Paris, 1664, some years after these experiments at Oxford, attribute the discovery of the gravitation of the air to Pascal, from experiments made by him about the year 1650, at Clermont in Auvergne ; by M. Perier ; in Paris, by other *savans* ; and in Stockholm, by M. M. Descartes and Chanute. "If these statements be true, it is certainly strange," as Dr. Der-

ham observes, "that it should not have been applied to the use of so beneficial an instrument sooner, which is no where proved, till after these experiments and observations at Oxford."

WHILE these men of peace and lovers of science were thus pursuing their beloved avocations in their seclusion at Oxford, the men of more worldly pursuits and warlike habits, did not entirely forget the Muses. Milton was distinguished in early youth, for the purity and elegance of his Latin versification, was an early genius, and a staid and solemn boy, though full of poetic fire. Read his own description of his school life, and wonder not at the mighty soarings of his full-plumed wing.

When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing : all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good : myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things.

HIS L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, his Comus and his Lycidas, works of highest fame, are early productions. He visited the land of song, tarrying in his progress among congenial souls in Florence, Rome and Naples. He shortened his tour, which he had proposed to have extended to Sicily and Greece, on hearing of the convulsions that disturbed the peace of his native country. "Born to promote all truth, all righteous things," he deemed it "dishonourable," he wrote to a friend in England, "to be lingering abroad for the improvement

of his mind, while his fellow-citizens were contending for their liberty at home." In order to be of use to his country, he used his classic pen, as Latin Secretary to the Council, which formed the administrative government of the Lord Protector, and wrote his "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," planned his immortal *Paradise Lost*, and left to posterity his profound Latin Treatise, "*De Doctrina Christiana*," which the liberality of George IV., in whose reign it was discovered in the State Paper Office, gave to the world.

NEITHER did the stern Lord Protector despise the softer amenities of the fine arts, sitting to Oliver the miniature-painter, who had recorded the melancholy lineaments of the unfortunate Charles, and desiring the Vandyke of miniature, as he was named, to make a faithful likeness, and copy warts and all : and the coins and medals of the Protectorate, designed and sunk by the inimitable Simon, were not only among the finest in Europe, but have rarely been surpassed, even by the eminent artists of our present mint.

POETRY, also, sometimes intruded into the puritanical recesses of Cromwell's Whitehall, when perchance the stiffest of his Round-heads, were absent from council. The gallant, gay and amatory Waller, whose always smooth and sonorous, and sometimes lofty and heroic versification, has tended so much to the improvement of English poetry, paid his court to Cromwell ; and presented him the noblest tribute of his muse. On the restoration, the pliant bard offered his Parnassian gratulations to Charles II., which were so inferior to the

Cromwellian effusion, that "the Merry Monarch" noticed it to the would-be Laureate. "Poets succeed much better in fiction, Sire, than in truth," was the unabashed wit's courtly reply.

A DIFFERENT fate befel another poet under similar circumstances of poetic pliability and royal remembrance. Luigi Alamanni, who is as well known for his politics as his poetry, having entered into a conspiracy to overthrow the power of the Medici family in Florence, his native city; on the elevation of Guilio de Medici to the Pontificate, he left Italy and attached himself to the French monarch Francis I. During his residence at the court of that Prince, he wrote a poem called "The Eagle," against the Emperor Charles V. making the imperial Eagle a bird of prey, well carnaged, and at the same time, a sort of monster, with two heads and two beaks, that it might be doubly destructive.

L'Aquila grifagna

Che per più divorar, duoi rostri porta.

ON the re-establishment of peace between these Potentates, Signor Alamanni, whose abilities as a statesman, were highly estimated by the French King, was despatched by him as Ambassador to the Emperor. The envoy made a grand oration, attributing to his imperial Majesty, the great and noble qualities of the King of birds. As the diplomatic orator often repeated "l'Aquila," and before he had completed his peroration, the Emperor repeated gravely—

L'Aquila grifagna

Che per più divorar, duoi rostri porta.

To which quotation Alamanni, nothing abashed, as

gravely replied that when he wrote those verses, he spoke as a poet, but now as an ambassador ; that it was allowable for poets to lie, but Ambassadors should always speak the truth. "Magnanimo Principe," said the audacious envoy, "allora io raglionava come gli Poeti aquali è lecito di favoleggiare : io ragliono in questo discorso come un Ambasciatore che non devo fingere."

ROBERT HERRICK too, sang in this grim and rugged period, but it was in foreign lands, to which he was exiled for loyalty to his King, and fidelity to his church, of which he was an appointed minister. Rather than remain at home with a people whom he loved not, and whose violence he abhorred, he suffered, in common with many other faithful members of the episcopal clergy, deprivation of his benefice, and followed the broken fortunes of his fellow royalists. During this exile he wrote his sorrows and his hopes, his *threnodia* and his *nugæ*, his "Hesperides" a garden of fruits human and divine. This genuine poet deserves a better notoriety than as a writer of the pretty but hacknied ballad of "Cherry ripe," whilst some of the brightest of his golden apples are ungathered, although unguarded by any dragon. Read the following epitaph upon a babe, sweet and gentle as the subject of his verse ;

HERE she lies, a pretty bud,
Lately made of flesh and blood :
Who, as soon fell fast asleep,
As her little eyes did peep.
Give her strewings ; but not stir
The earth that lightly covers her.

Or one to a lady who died in child-bed and left a female infant to survive her :

As Gilly-flowers do but stay
To blow and seed, and so away ;
So you, sweet Lady, sweet as May,
The garden's glory, liv'd awhile
To lend the world your scent and smile.
But when your own fair print was set,
In a virgin *floscule*,
Sweet as yourself and newly blown,
To give that life, resign'd your own :
But so, as still the mother's power
Lives in that pretty Lady-flower.

Or another who died in maidenhood :

HERE she lies, in bed of spice,
Fair as EVE in Paradise :
For her beauty it was such
Poets could not praise too much.
Virgins, come, and in a ring
Her supremest *Requiem* sing ;
Then depart, but see ye tread
Lightly, lightly, on the dead.

HIS epitaph upon a clerical friend, a residentiary, is full of suggestive thoughts upon the remains of him he wept, and of the times in which he departed from the troubled world.

TREAD, Sirs, as lightly as you can,
Upon the grave of this old man.
Twice forty, bating but one year
And thrice three weeks, he lived here,
Whom gentle fate *translated* hence,
To a more happy residence.
Yet, READER, let me tell thee this,
Which from his ghost a promise is,
If *here* ye will a few tears shed
He'll never haunt you, now he's dead.

The poet, herein, not only alludes to the ancient wish, *Sit tibi terra levis*, but also to their belief, that till the funeral rites had been fulfilled, and the tears of relatives and friends duly shed upon the grave, the ghost of the deceased could enjoy no rest but would haunt their slumbers till the pious debt had been paid.

MALHERBE wrote an epitaph upon a centenarian in a different spirit, when he makes his old man, desire the reader to judge of him by the regret which Death had to take him from a world, in which he had lived so long, and with such glory.

N'attend PASSANT, que de ma gloire,
Je te fasse une longue histoire,
Pleine de langage indiscret.
Que se loüe irrite l'envie :
Juge de moi par le regret
Qu'eut la Mort de m'ôter la vie.

ONE of Herrick's epitaphs upon himself, for he wrote several, he addresses to his melodious namesake, Robin Redbreast, to whom he gives the following instructions for his simple funeral.

Laid out for dead, let thy last kindness be,
With leaves and moss-work, for to cover me ;
And while the wood-nymphs my cold corpse inter,
Sing thou my dirge, sweet warbling chorister !
For epitaph, *in foliage*, next write this—

Here, here the tomb of Robin Herrick is !

If it be said this is too epicurean for a Christian Divine, it may be answered, that it is the pastoral poet, exiled from the tombs of his ancestors, who

speaks. Here, however, is another in a more sober vein.

As wearied pilgrims, once possess
Of long'd for lodgings, go to rest :
So I, now having rid my way,
Fix here my buttoned staff, and stay.
Youth, I confess, hath me misled,
But *Age* hath brought me, right, to bed.

IN the following he laments his exile, and expresses his desire to die at home, and sleep with his ancestors.

IF that my fate hath now fulfilled my year,
And so soon stopt my longer living here ;
What was't, O God ! a dying man to save,
But while he met with his paternal grave ;
Though while we living 'bout the world do roam,
We love to rest in peaceful urns at home,
Where we may snug and close together lie,
By the dear bones of our dead ancestry.

HERRICK, in another place, addresses the yew and cypress to grace his funeral.

Born you two have
Relation to the grave :
And where
The fun'ral trump sounds, you are there.

I shall be made
Ere long, a fleeting shade :
Pray come,
And do some honour to my tomb.

Do not deny
My last request ; for I
Will be
Thankful to you, or friends for me.

IN the first stanza, the poet alludes to the yew and

cypress, being both funereal trees, and the latter being dedicated more especially to the grave. Ovid has a similar thought in his "*Funeris ara mihi, ferali cincta cupressa.*" TRIST. III. Eleg. 13.

HERRICK, like all of his pen-craft, was desirous of immortality, and he expresses his aspiration for the laurel wreath, with fervour, he says :

A funeral stone
Or verse I covet none ;
But only crave
Of you, that I may have
A sacred laurel springing from my grave :
Which being seen,
Blest with perpetual green,
May grow to be
Not so much call'd a tree,
As the eternal monument of me.

THE address to his winding sheet is full of meditative thoughts, poetic feeling, and grave pathos.

HERRICK TO HIS WINDING-SHEET.

COME thou, who art the wine and wit
Of all I've writ :
The grace, the glory, and the best
Piece of the rest.
Thou art of what I did intend
The all and end.
And what was made, was made to meet
Thee, thee, my sheet.
Come, then, and be to my chaste side
Both bed and bride.
We two as reliques left, will have
One rest, one grave.
And hugging close, we will not fear
Lust ent'ring here :

Where all desires are dead or cold
As is the mould :
And all affections are forgot,
Or trouble not.
Here, where the slaves and pris'ners be
From shackles free,
And weeping widows long opprest
Do here find rest.
The wronged client ends his laws
Here, and his cause.
Here, those long suits of Chancery lie
Quiet, or die :
And all Star-chamber bills do cease,
Or hold their peace.
Here needs no court for our request,
Where all are best ;
All wise ; all equal ; and all just
Alike i' th' dust.
Nor need we here to fear the frown
Of court or crown.
Where fortune bears no sway o'er things,
Here all are Kings.
In this securer place we'll keep,
As lull'd asleep ;
Or, for a little time, we'll lie
As robes laid by ;
To be another day reworn,
Turn'd, but not torn :
Or like old Testaments engrost,
Lock'd up not lost :
And for a while lie here conceal'd,
To be reveal'd
Next at that great Platonic year,
And then meet here.

HERRICK's feelings towards his country, during his exile, may be seen in the following address :

TO MY PATERNAL COUNTRY.

O EARTH ! Earth ! Earth ! hear thou my voice, and be
Loving and gentle for to cover me :
Banish'd from thee I live ; ne'er to return,
Unless thou giv'st my small remains an urn.

THE poet's wish of dying in his native land, of resting near to the dear remains of his "dead ancestry," was accomplished. He returned to England after the restoration, and was restored to his benefice, which he did not long enjoy; for, like his old friend, "the Residentiary," he was translated to a higher and more happy residence.

Two great and venerable names, embellished the world's history and extended England's fame, at this eventful time. Alike, and yet how unlike are the episcopalian Royalist Jeremy Taylor, and the presbyterian Republican John Milton. They were kindred spirits, and in calmer times would have been friends. Coleridge says, in the apologetical preface to his political satire, "Fire, famine and slaughter," if ever two great men, might seem, during their whole lives, to have moved in direct opposition, though neither of them has at any time introduced the name of the other, Milton and Jeremy Taylor were they. The former commenced his career by attacking the Church Liturgy, and all set forms of prayer; the latter, far more successfully, by defending both. Milton's next work was then against the Prelacy and the existing Church Government—Taylor's in vindication and support of them. Milton became more and more a stern republican, or rather an advocate for that religious and moral aristocracy, which in his opinion was called republicanism, and which, even more than royalism itself, is the direct antipode of modern jacobinism. Taylor, as more and more sceptical concerning the fitness of men in general for power,

because more and more attached to the prerogatives of monarchy. From Calvinism, with a still decreasing respect for Fathers, Councils, and for Church-antiquity in general, Milton seems to have ended in an indifference, if not a dislike, to all forms of ecclesiastical government, and to have retreated wholly into the inward and spiritual church-communion of his own spirit with the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Taylor, with a growing reverence for authority, an increasing sense of the insufficiency of the Scriptures without the aids of tradition, and the consent of authorized interpreters, advanced as far in his approaches (not indeed to Popery, but) to Roman Catholicism, as a conscientious minister of the English Church could well venture. Milton would be, and would utter the same, to all, on all occasions : he would tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Taylor would become all things to all men, if by any means he might benefit any. Hence he availed himself, in his popular writings, of opinions and representations which stand often in striking contrast with the doubts and convictions expressed in his more philosophical works. He appears, indeed, not too severely to have blamed that management of truth (*istam falsitatem dispensativum*) authorized and exemplified by almost all the Fathers."

THIS antithesis is carried on through the characters of these illustrious and inspired men, with great ability, by this eminent critic and poet. "Milton," he says, "austere, condensed, imaginative. Taylor, eminently

discursive, accumulative, and (to use one of his own words) agglomerative. Still more rich in images than Milton himself, but presented to the common and passive eye, rather than to the eye of the imagination."

HE describes this distinguished ornament of the English Prelacy, whether supporting or assailing, as making his way "either by argument or by appeals to affections, unsurpassed even by the schoolmen in subtlety, agility and logical wit, and unrivalled by the most rhetorical of the Fathers in the copiousness and vividness of his expressions and illustrations." Of Milton's, Mr. Coleridge says, that "it supports truth by direct enunciation of lofty moral sentiment, and by direct visual representations, and, in the same spirit, overwhelming what he deemed falsehood, by moral denunciation, and a succession of pictures appalling or repulsive ;" and says, happily, "in his prose, so many metaphors, so many allegorical miniatures."

IF these distinguished men differed so far, wherein, it may be asked did they agree? Coleridge answers, "In genius, in learning, in unfeigned piety, in blameless purity of life, and in benevolent aspirations and purposes for the moral and temporal improvement of their fellow creatures! Both of them," he says, "wrote a Latin *Accidence**, to render education less

* Milton also wrote a Latin Dictionary, as the learned lexicographer, Dr. Adam Littleton, gratefully acknowledges his obligation to. He describes it as a *manuscript* collection, in three large folio volumes, digested into an alphabetical order, made out of Tully, Livy, Cæsar, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Manilius, Celsus, Columella, Varro, Palladius; in short, out of all the best and purest Roman authors. What became of these three folios?—J. E.

painful to children ; both of them composed hymns and psalms proportioned to the capacity of common congregations ; both, nearly at the same time, set the glorious example of publicly recommending and supporting general toleration, and the liberty both of the pulpit and the press.*”

To these antitheses and coincidences others may be added. The prelate, in his younger days, approached Roman Catholicity in religion with as much sincerity and ability as Bossuet, in the same age, approached Protestantism in his “Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith,” both with the view of reconciling differences, and restoring the purity of the Christian Church. Milton, on the contrary, who wore “his heart upon his sleeve,” could so little disguise his hatred of Popery, during his travels through Italy, that it hindered him from receiving the full share of honours that his congenial soul inspired in that land of fine art and poetry. Nay, when his politic friend, Sir Henry Wotton, who, to use his own words, was “a man sent abroad to lie for the good of his country,” could not dissuade him from avowing his principles of reform among a people with whom Atheism was more pardonable than Protestant heresy.

TAYLOR, however, detested Popery as cordially as Milton, who has been charged with being a Papist in

* The Bishop’s work is entitled “THEOLOGIA ECLECTICA, a Discourse on the Liberty of Prophesying,” that is preaching, in which he shows the folly of persecuting other men’s faith, and the iniquity of persecuting different opinions.

disguise, a Pyrrhonist, a Calvinist, a Socinian, a Deist, an Atheist ; but Milton knew that calling names did but a temporary injury ; for, according to their notions, he says, in his recently-recovered treatise ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, “ to have branded any one at random with this opprobrious mark” (heresy, which, in another work he calls “ a Greek apparition,” and railing in an unknown tongue), “ is to have refuted him, without any trouble, by a single word.”

OF MILTON'S antipapistical feelings, take but one instance out of the many. In his treatise *on true Religion* (Prose works vol. iv. p. 226), he says, “ the Papal antichristian Church permits not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue ; our Church, on the contrary, hath proposed it to all men. Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman excuse himself, by his much business, from the studious reading thereof.” Although, from Bishop's Taylor's tendencies to High-Church and Monarchical principles, and his desire to promote the unity of the Christian Church, we must not expect to find in any of his writings, violent language towards the Roman Catholic Church, yet we can readily perceive an evident repugnance to many of its forms and doctrines. Speaking, in his *Life of Christ*, of the danger of riches to the Church, he thus admonishes his brethren of the Church of Rome, “ if it be dangerous in any man to be rich, which discomposes his steps, in his journey to Eternity ; it is not so proportionate to Christ's poverty and the inheritance of the

Church to be sedulous in acquiring great temporalities, and putting Princes in jeopardy, and States into care for securities, lest all the temporal should run into ecclesiastical possessions." In the chapter on the Last Supper, he calls it emphatically *the* Sacrament, not *one* of the Sacraments, and says, "*some* so observe the literal sense of the words, that they understand them also in a *natural*; *some* so alter them by metaphors and preternatural significations, that they will not understand them in a proper sense." And adds, "*we* see it, we feel it, we taste it, and we smell it to be bread; and by Philosophy we are led into a belief of that substance, whose accidents these are, as we are to believe that to be fire, which burns and flames and shines." This is neither calling hard names, nor merely repudiating a doctrine; it is better, for by argument founded on reason, he disproves it. In another place he tells them, that this question "hath divided the Church, almost as much as the Sacrament hath united it, and which can only serve the purposes of the Schools, and of evil men, to make questions for that, and factions for these." And still more emphatically, he says, "they that are forward to believe the *change of substance*, can intend no more, but that it be believed verily to be the body of our Lord. And if they think it impossible to reconcile its being bread, with the verity of being Christ's body, let them remember, that themselves are put to more difficulties, and to admit of more miracles, and to contradict more sciences, and to

refuse the testimony of sense, in affirming the special manner of Transubstantiation."

ONE more coincidence between these distinguished men, may be mentioned. Both eminently pious, eminently charitable, unsurpassed in kindness and love to their fellow-men, have, in affairs of conscience and of eternal import, at times expressed themselves so strongly, that tolerant as both were known to be, both have been gravely charged with great intolerance. Like Shakspeare's Hamlet, to his erring mother, they "spoke daggers but used none."

SUCH a passage occurs in Bishop Taylor's second sermon, on the Advent of Christ, when, "in thoughts that breathe and words that burn," he gives vent to a fervid denunciation of those who, vicious themselves, have become the active cause of vice and crime and misery in others. It is as follows :—"But when this Lion of the tribe of Judah shall appear, then Justice shall strike, and Mercy shall not hold her hands ; she shall strike sore strokes, and Pity shall not break the blow. As there are treasures of good things, so hath God a treasure of wrath and fury, and scourges and scorpions ; and then shall be produced the shame of lust, and the malice of envy, and the groans of the oppressed, and the persecutions of the saints, and the cares of covetousness, and the troubles of ambition, and the indolence of traitors, and the violence of rebels, and the rage of anger, and the uneasiness of impatience, and the restlessness of unlawful desires ; and by this time the monsters and diseases will be numer-

ous and intolerable, when God's heavy hand shall press the sanies, and the intolerableness, the obliquity and the unreasonableness, the amazement and the disorder, the smart and the sorrow, the guilt and the punishment, out from all our sins, and pour them into one chalice, and mingle them with an infinite wrath, and make the wicked drink of all the vengeance, and force it down their unwilling throats with the violence of devils and accursed spirits." The worst that can be said of this passage is, that it is a rhetorical flourish of pulpit oratory, painting in vivid colours the sufferings of evil-doers, to deter his hearers and his readers from crime.

SIMILAR ardent passages, implying the punishment of the guilty in proportion to their guilt, and to an extent beyond conception, occur in the prose works of Milton ; yet, although he declared, what all unprejudiced minds believe, "that in his whole life he never spake against a man even that his skin should be grazed," together with his acknowledged humanity and goodness of heart, exemplified, *inter alia*, by his repeatedly using his interest in favour of royalists, the case of Sir William Davenant, for instance ; yet he was accused of meaning personally, Archbishop Laud, the Earl of Strafford, Bishop Hall, Archbishop Usher, and other supporters of monarchy. In like manner has Bishop Taylor been accused of personal attacks upon Hampden, Hazeldrig, Hollis, Pym, Fairfax, Ireton, and Milton, although he named them not, and used his ardent eloquence against depravity, crime and

wickedness, hypothetically. The envy and hatred of calumniators is proverbial, and the purest of mankind have not escaped their malice.

MILTON's public life is known to all, of his private habits he shall speak for himself*; "My morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring. In winter often ere the sound of any bell awakes men to labour or devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught. Then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness to render lightsome, clear and not lumpish, obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies, to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish life."

For the private life and pursuits of Jeremy Taylor, let his contemporary and colleague, Dr. George Rust, Bishop of Dromore, speak, from over his honoured grave†. "It would be too great a task," says his venerable friend, who not long after joined him in the world of spirits, "to pursue his accomplishments through the various kinds of literature: I shall content myself to add only his great acquaintance with the

* Prose Works, vol. i. p. 220.

† Sermon preached at the Funeral of Bishop Taylor, 1667.

fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages of the Greek and Latin Church : which he has made use of against the Romanists, to vindicate the Church of England from the challenge of innovation, and to prove her to be truly ancient, catholic and apostolical. But religion and virtue is the crown of all other accomplishments ; and it was the glory of this great man to be thought a Christian, and whatever you added to it, he looked upon as a term of diminution : and yet he was a zealous son of the Church of England ; but that was because he judged her, and with good reason, a church the most purely Christian of any in the world. In his younger years he met with some assaults from Popery ; and the high pretensions of their religious orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper : but he was always master of himself, would not be governed by any thing but reason and the evidence of truth, which engaged him in the study of those controversies : and to how much good purpose the world is by this time a sufficient witness. But the longer and the more he considered, the worse he liked the Roman cause, and he came at last to censure them with some severity ; but I confess I have so great an opinion of his judgment, and the charitableness of his spirit, that I am afraid he did not think worse of them than they deserve." The orator concludes his pious oration over the mortal remains of his fellow-townsmen, both were born in Cambridge, his fellow-student and his fellow-labourer in the episcopal office, by stating that this

great Prelate had "the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel and the piety of a saint ; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi ; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would, perhaps, have made one of the best dioceses in the world." Pity is it that party rage and fanaticism should have kept two such kindred spirits as John Milton and Jeremy Taylor, from col-leagu-ing in the flesh.

To return to the confraternity of Philosophers in Wadham College, we find Mr. Wren engaged in a literary correspondence on astronomical subjects, with Sir Paul Neil, a distinguished lover and patron of science, and the society daily obtaining celebrity, beyond the walls of Oxford. Dr. Hooke, whose name is associated with the brightest names in the history of modern inventions and discoveries, began about this time to pay attention to their discussions, for he says before this year 1655 he knew little of them. When he attended these meetings he found that many experiments were suggested, discussed and tried, with various degrees of success ; but that no record or other account taken of them, than what a few of the members noted down to aid their memory. Therefore many

excellent things were lost, but a few, through the kindness of their authors, were afterwards made public.

AMONG those losses, and subsequent recoveries, he enumerates, Boyle's pneumatic engine, and experiments therewith, which they tried in 1658, Hooke making the air pump for Mr. Boyle, from a large rude contrivance made for the latter by Ralph Greatorex, a mathematical instrument-maker and a friend of Oughtred. From this time "the Philosophic Club," as it was called, continued their meetings with greater regularity, made their experiments more carefully, and registered their proceedings more formally than heretofore. In all these transactions, the most prominent names are those of Wren, above all others in number, and, with a few illustrious exceptions, in importance, Newton, Boyle, Ward, Petty, Hooke, Wilkins, Bathurst, Rooke, Sprat, Evelyn, Scarborough and other ornaments of the English nation.

AMONG these distinguished men, few have obtained a more honourable, extended, and durable reputation than the Honourable Robert Boyle. Bacon, Boyle, and Newton, are the illustrious founders of the modern or experimental school of natural philosophy. Theirs is not the philosophy of Greece or of Rome, of Pythagoras, Plato, or Aristotle, neither of nation, or clime, or individual, but emphatically the philosophy of mankind, comprehending in its vast expansiveness, the useful essence of all the others.

IN the apartments of Mr. Boyle in Wadham College, the newly-organized philosophical club now pursued

their experiments and examined suggestions. Dr. Hooke became chemical operator to the great philosopher, and occasionally assistant in mathematical experiments. Mr. Boyle had returned to England in 1654, and fixed his pilgrim's staff in the learned cloisters of Wadham, and settled in England for the remainder of his life. Being one of the younger sons of the first, or "Great Earl of Cork," who held a high, and maintained a powerful station in Ireland during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. It was of this nobleman that Cromwell remarked, when he saw his vast improvements in the colonization and protection of his estates in the county of Cork, "that if there had been an Earl of Cork in each of the four provinces of Ireland, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."

AFTER a suitable education in England, young Robert Boyle, who had shown an early disposition to grave and thoughtful studies, accompanied one of his elder brothers and a tutor, on their travels abroad. They passed through France, made some stay in Germany, where the two brothers studied rhetoric, logic, mathematics and political geography. Their next journey was through Switzerland, visiting Lausanne, Zurich, Geneva, Soleure, and other memorable places, and thence into Italy. In this land of ancient renown, they witnessed the fallen destinies, and the ruined monuments of republican and imperial greatness, superseded by the feeble structures of superstition and diletantiism. They visited the humbled bridegroom

of the Adriatic, *Venezia ricca, saggia e signorile*, embarked from that city of gondolas and gallantry, for Florence which the old Italian *sonetto*, just quoted, extols as *Fiorenza bella tutti 'l mondo canta*. In this city of flowers and Floras, Robert Boyle is reported by his biographers to have mastered the Italian language, and became acquainted with the astronomical discoveries of the persecuted Galileo, who had just before winged his way from a country of ignorant bigotry to those spheres, which, surveying through his magic tube, he revealed with all their visible phases and wonders to a grateful posterity who venerate his memory, revere the truths he expounded, feel pity for his unmerited sufferings, and contempt for his reverend calumniators and holy persecutors. The travellers next proceed to Rome, *Roma pomposa e santa*, as modern Romans and men without beards sing or say. After a short sojourn in this city of ruins, and desolation, suggestive of the decline and fall of a mighty empire, the two brothers returned to Florence, then proceeded homewards to Marseilles, in expectation of there finding a promised remittance of money from England. The Irish rebellion prevented their father from sending it; they therefore returned to Geneva, where, after waiting two years, they obtained a sufficient sum to bring them to England just before the battle of Naseby, to learn the death of their father, who had bequeathed to Robert the manor and estate of Stallbridge in Devonshire, and other considerable estates. Mr. Boyle resided at the manor for five or

six years, employing his time in making experiments in chemistry and natural philosophy, making occasional visits of scientific sympathy to the club at Wadham, and to the professors at Gresham. Having property in Ireland he visited that kingdom twice, to pay due attention to his affairs ; but meeting his friend Sir William Petty in that country, practising as a physician, he studied practical anatomy under his direction.

DURING this residence at Stallbridge, and more especially after sitting himself down in his little Academy in his apartments at Wadham College, Robert Boyle passed his honourable and active leisure, like the learned and liberal Claude de Pieresc of whom Mr. D'Israeli, has written so interesting an episode in his delightful essay "On the Literary character," in the continuance of his literary and scientific pursuits, his intercourse with men of literature and science, in the patronage of men of ability, of living in liberal unostentatious disinterestedness, not for himself, but for his friends, his country, and posterity, who have all enjoyed and still feel the effects of the philosophical, religious, and benevolent labours of Robert Boyle. His liberal hand sowed the seed in good soil, and it annually produces its golden harvests. His own productions are numerous and valuable, containing much experimental philosophy, profound observations on the works of nature ; many of religious tendency, criticism and new translations of parts of the Bible, all promotive of piety, and virtue. A mere catalogue of his published and collected works, exclusive of those which are printed

in the Philosophical Transactions, will show the extent of his studies and the power of that mind which have placed him by universal consent, among the founders and promulgators of useful knowledge ; and the annual productions that his foresight has produced from the ablest of his successors, in the year after his death to the present day, in defence of Christianity, at the annual Boylëan lectures, some of the finest treatises, against atheism and infidelity, in the English language. In fact, a successful Boyle lecture, is a passport of fame to its author.

DR. THOMAS SPRAT, Bishop of Rochester, the biographer of Cowley and the elegant historian of the early period of the Royal Society, in alluding to the Wadham College Club, and its illustrious members says that* “ their first purpose was no more than the satisfaction of breathing a fresher air, and of conversing in quiet, without being engaged in the passions and madness of that dismal age. And from the institution of that assembly it had been enough, if no other advantage had come but this, that by this means there was a race of young men provided against the next age, whose minds receiving from them their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly armed against all the enchantments of enthusiasm. But what is more, I may venture to affirm, that it was in great measure by the influence which these gentlemen had over the rest, that the University itself, or, at least, any part of its discipline and order, was saved from ruin. Hence

* SPRAT'S History of the Royal Society, 4to. Lon. 1667.

we may conclude, that the same men have now no intention of sweeping away all the honour of antiquity in their new design, seeing they employed so much of their labour and prudence in preserving that most venerable seat of ancient learning, when their shrinking from its defence would have been the speediest way to have destroyed it. For the truth of this, I dare appeal to all uninterested men, who knew the temper of that place ; and especially to those who were my own contemporaries there : of whom I can name very many, whom the happy restoration of the Kingdom's peace, found as well inclined to serve their Prince and their Church, as if they had been brought up in the most prosperous condition of their country. This was undoubtedly so ; nor indeed could it be otherwise, for such spiritual phrenzies which did then bear rule, can never stand long before a clear and deep skill in nature. It is almost impossible," continues the historian, "that they who converse much with the subtlety of things, should be deluded with such thick deceits. There is but one better charm in the world than real philosophy, to allay the impulse of the false spirit ; and that is the blessed presence and assistance of the true."

AFTER considering the good effects of this learned association and its pursuits, as to Oxford, the historian next dilates on its members having made themselves so advantageously known abroad by their printed works, both in their own and the learned language, which, he says, "conduced to the fame of our nation both abroad and at home," and concludes by enumerat-

ing their names, and that "their meetings were as frequent as their affairs permitted, their proceedings were rather by action than discourse, chiefly attending some particular trials in chemistry or mechanics. They had no rules or method fixed, their intention was more to communicate their discoveries to each other, which they could make in so narrow a compass, than in an united, constant or regular inquisition."

THUS arose, continued and flourished the seeds, plants and flowers of natural philosophy and science, which bound together by skilful hands, and protected by noble and enlightened minds, have spread over our land and colonies, producing an abundant supply of the richest and ripest fruit.

IN like manner did our celebrated, our second Royal Society, "The Asiatic Society," founded by Sir William Jones, commence its proceedings, that is, without previous rules or fixed method. Sir William had doubtlessly, this unprescribed origin in his mind, when he penned his introductory discourse to the infant society. After enunciating his clear conviction of the importance and beneficial tendency of such an institution in our Indian Empire, he tells his auditory, that* "perhaps it may be advisable, at first, in order to prevent any difference of sentiment on particular points, to establish but one rule, namely, to have no rule at all. This only I mean, that in the infancy of any society, there ought

* SIR WILLIAM JONES'S Discourses, selected and edited by James Elmes, 12mo. Lon. 1821.

to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality."

So did Boyle and Wren and the rest of "the club," from which emanated the "Royal Society of London," whose laws growing out of their necessity, and increasing with their growth, have risen imperceptibly to that code, under which the present descendants of that illustrious stock now flourish. Both institutions wisely followed the examples of their forefathers, who began the infant state, by patriarchal governments of single families, extending them to tithings, hundreds, counties, kingdoms, laws unwritten and written, oral, traditional and statutory, forming by similar increment, that happy mixture of King, Nobles and people that forms the Constitution of the British Empire ; suited by nature to the wants, the comforts, the legislation and the theocracy of the people with whom, from whom, and for whom they emanated ; the growth of centuries, the wisdom of departed sages, maintained, repaired and upheld by the loving body which is animated by this political soul.

DURING the residence of Mr. Wren at Oxford, he attended "the club" with regularity, took a leading part in all its transactions, and pursued his general studies with the ardour, that mostly accompanies genius. In anatomy, his progress has been already mentioned, as regular demonstrator to the lectures and dissections of Sir Charles Scarborough and Dr. Willis ; the latter of whom he assisted in making dissections and in writing his treatise on the anatomy of the Brain ; the whole

of the drawings for which, as gratefully acknowledged by the distinguished author in the preface to his work, were made by Wren.

THESE anatomical studies led this ardent student to investigate the physical nature as well as the mechanical construction of Man. In these investigations, the nature and properties of the blood attracted his notice, the circulation of which, by the illustrious William Harvey, had not long before been promulgated to the world. In this department of medical science, Wren is the acknowledged author or discoverer of the celebrated anatomical experiment of injecting certain fluids into the veins of animals, which Dr. Sprat, in his history of the Royal Society, records as invented by Wren, and calls it a noble experiment, *Primus erat inventor (Oxonix) nobilis istuis experimenti anatomici, injiciendi quoscunque liquores in venas animalium*.

As was usual with the members of "the club," Wren exhibited and explained the nature of this experiment to its members. Thence it was carried into Germany, by the treachery, as was suspected, of Oldenburg, and published there as a German discovery. Wren claimed the honour in a letter to a friend, probably Sir William Petty, stating that he made the first experiments in 1656. After informing his friend of some new experiments that he had made in anatomy and philosophy, he adds, that the most considerable experiment he had made of late was injecting wine and ale into the mass of blood in a living dog, by a vein, till he became drunk, but soon after voided it by

urine. He tried also the effects of opium, scammony and other drugs, the details of which he omits, as being too long for a letter, but says he was in further pursuit of the experiment, considering it to be of great consequence as likely to give great light to the theory and practice of physic.

THE French laid claim to the discovery in their medical journals of 1667, assigning for a reason, that they were witnesses that one Robert de Gabets discoursed of it at M. de Montmort's ten years before. On the other hand, the whole body of the Royal Society, and the Philosophical Transactions for the years 1665, 1667, and 1668, bear testimony to the claim of Wren as the inventor of this important experiment. Dr. Timothy Clark, one of the original members of the Royal Society, and Physician to Charles II., bears similar testimony in a Latin letter to Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, that in the year 1656, that eminent mathematician, Christopher Wren, was the first who tried this experiment, of which he gives many details ; *circa finem Anni 1656, aut circiter, Mathematicus ille insignissimus D.D. CHRISTOPH. WREN primus infusionem variorum liquorum in massam sanguineam viventium animalium excogitavit et Oxonii peregit, etc.*

THE infusion of various liquors into the mass of living blood, soon led to the more important experiment of transfusion ; a trial of which was ordered by the Royal Society, and ordered to be entered in their transactions by the secretaries, who were sworn to secrecy. Boyle also added his testimony to Wren's

claim, in his "Essays on Natural Experimental Philosophy," Oxon 1663, as an eye-witness of the experiments by Wren in 1655, and that the knowledge of himself and associates of Wren's extraordinary sagacity, made them very desirous to try what he proposed.

IN 1657, Wren left the studious shades of Oxford, for the more active life of London. On the retirement of his friend, Dr. Rooke, from the astronomical chair in Gresham College, to take the professorship of Geometry, Wren, then in his five-and-twentieth year, was chosen his successor. The inaugural oration was delivered in Latin, a correct copy of which is printed in Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, from the original, given by the author's son to Dr. Mead, and by him lent for publication to Dr. Ward. It is also reprinted in the appendix to my Life of Wren, as I believe, for the first and only time. It differs somewhat from the English draught given in *Parentalia* and the before-named Latin version; being a free and, in some passages, an enlarged paraphrase of the English sketch. This oration is valuable, from the light it throws on the state of science in Wren's time, as well as for his perception into things of which subsequent investigation have proved the accuracy.

THE youthful orator in entering upon his duties, looked with respectful awe on the great and eminent auditory by which he was surrounded. There he saw some of the politer geniuses of his age. "There," he says, "many of our patricians, and every where, those

who are more judges than auditors ; I cannot but with juvenile blushes betray that which I must apologize for. And, indeed, I must seriously fear, lest I should appear immaturely covetous of reputation, in daring to ascend the Chair of Astronomy, and to usurp that big word of demonstration *dico*, with which, while the humble Orator insinuates only, the imperious mathematician commands assent ; when it would better have suited the bashfulness of my years to have worn out more *Lustra* in a Pythagorean silence."

"I MUST confess," he continues, "I had never designed any thing farther than to exercise my *radius* in private dust, unless those had inveighed against my sloth and remissness, with continual but friendly exhortations, whom I may account the great ornaments of learning and of our nation, whom to obey is with me sacred, and who, with the worthy Senators of this worthy City had thrust me into the public sand ; that according to my slender abilities, I might explain what hath been delivered to us by the Ancients, concerning the motions and appearances of the celestial bodies, and likewise what hath been found out new by the moderns ; for we have no barren age." He next adverted to inventors, a title to which he so much aspired, that he ever considered an attempt to invade that right a greater cause of resistance than an attempt upon his purse. "Inventors!" he exclaims, "a title so venerable of old, that it was merit enough to confer on men, patents of divinity and perpetual adoration."

LET us pass back in thought to the princely mansion

of Sir Thomas Gresham, our great Elizabeth's "royal merchant," munificently bestowed by that illustrious Citizen, for habitations and lecture rooms for seven professors of the seven liberal sciences ; let us there fancy ourselves seated with Boyle, Cowley, Wallis, Scarborough, Petty, Evelyn, Denham, Ashmole, Digby, Hooke, Oughtred, Rooke, and perhaps, the immortal discoverer of the circulation of the blood, for the honoured sage was yet on earth, and other magnates of "the club," listening with admiration to the gushing eloquence of the youthful philosopher, fraught with the laws of Nature and experimental Philosophy, whom they had drawn from the academic benches to the collegiate chair of the sublimest of the sciences : let us so pass back and meditate upon the scene, and seriously digest the speaker's words.

He proceeds, that it did not need for him to trouble so knowing an auditory with an encomium on Astronomy ; we shall leave this to the Dutch writers, whose swelling title-pages proclaim that their books are useful to theologians, philosophers, philologers, mathematicians, grammarians, and who not ? It were frivolous to tell you, how much astronomy elevates herself above other sciences, inasmuch as her subject, the beauteous Heavens, infinite in extension, pure and subtile, and sempiternal in matter, glorious in their starry ornaments, of which every one affords various causes of admiration, most rapid, yet most regular, most harmonious in their motions, in every thing, to a wise considerer, dreadful and majestic, doth precede

either the low or uncertain subjects of other sciences. It were pedantic to tell you of the affinity of our souls to heaven, of our erect countenances*, given us on purpose for astronomical speculations ; or to acquaint you that Plato commended it to his commonwealth's-men, while he says—*Ex cujusmodi disciplinis, instrumentum quoddam animi expurgatur, reviviscitque quod antea ex aliis studiis infectum occæcatumque fuerat ; solo enim hoc inspicitur veritas :* though truly elsewhere he gives us this great truth—*Animadvertisti eos, qui naturâ mathematici sunt, ad omnes ferè disciplinas auctiores apparere ; qui autem ingenio hebetiores sunt, si in hoc erudiantur, etiamsi nihil amplius utilitatis assequantur, seipsis tamen ingeniosiores effici solere.* I might be too verbose should I instance this particularly, in showing how much the mathematical wits of this age have excelled the ancients, who pierced but to the bark and outside of things, in handling particular disquisitions of nature, in clearing up history, and fixing chronology. For mathematical demonstrations being built upon the impregnable foundations of geometry and arithmetic, are the only truths that can sink into the mind of man, void of all uncertainty ; and all other discourses participate more or less, of truth, according as their subjects are more or less capable of mathematical demonstration. Therefore, this, rather than

* Wren had not forgotten, amidst his abstruse studies, the Ovid of his school-days.

“Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri

Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.”—MET. I. v. 85.

logic, is the great *organon Organon* of all infallible science ; although I will not exclude logic from being an instrument of reasoning, but rather include it in geometry. For the technical and most useful part of it, concerning syllogism and the art of reasoning, is but a geometrical ordering the *data per media proportionalia*, to determine the *quesitum*. It would be endless to run through the whole Encyclopædia, and show you in every part the great use of astronomy. Even Queen Theology hath been much beholden to the trusty service of this *ancilla*, in settling the sacred history by the help of chronology, which, as it is a part of astronomy, is built upon the unerring chronicles of the *gesta superûm et cælorum*, observations of eclipses, great conjunctions and the like appearances ; without which indexes of times, all sacred and profane history were but indigested heaps and labyrinths, where men are at a loss where to begin or end. But chronology, a thing too much neglected by the ancients, hath given an ichnography of this labyrinth, and described times, as it were in a map, by which we may run back secure to many chiliads of years, conversing with those remote ages, and there finding new discoveries, as by navigation, we converse with those of distant climates."

THESE observations, it should be remembered, were written and delivered before some of the most scientific men of his day, and that the heaven-born genius who wrote the "Principia," and formed the most complete chronological tables the world has ever seen, had not then left its chrysalis, for Isaac Newton was at this time a

boy going to a Lincolnshire market with the produce of his mother's farm ; and as the great discoverer of so many of nature's laws joined the Royal Society, and became intimate with Wren, how far, it may be asked, might not Wren and his discoveries have led the way to Newton's ?

"SOME, it may be," continues the youthful teacher, "will knit the brow, if I should say, that even Holy Scripture itself, sometimes requires an astronomical interpreter. Who else shall give a good account of the *Hexameron*, or decide the controversy about the retrocession of the shadow upon the dial of Ahaz ? When without a miracle, that might be many ways done by the mere fabric of the dial ; for it is easy to frame such a dial with such a stile, that every day at such a time, the shadow shall seem to return. But what the dial was, we know, if we may believe the Hebrew writer, who describes it obscurely, yet so that I can easily fancy it to be the same with that which the Eastern nations used, and which Vitruvius tells us, Berosus Chaldæus brought into Greece, "*hemicyclium excavatum ex quadrato, ad enclimaque succisum, hoc est, ad elevationem poli.*" "The retrocession," he says, "must be real, either in the sun or shadow only ; but what if it were, truly in neither, but from a parhelion ? The sun returned ten degrees by which it had gone down : might not a parhelion suddenly appear at ten degrees distance from the sun, the sun being just set under the horizon, or being hid by a cloud so started back ?—for parhelions are refractions

made in nitrous vapours higher than the clouds. It is what Cadamustus* and other describers of the East Indies say, often happens in the island Sumatra in the month of April ; for ten or fifteen degrees the sun seeming to start back, and then to return again, where otherwise he would have appeared. This may be done either by a parhelion, or a strong refraction through a vapour in an angular form like a glass prism, passing between the eye and the sun ; for if you gently pass a prism of crystal before any objects, the objects will appear to start out of their places. Neither need we fear to diminish a miracle by explaining it ; this retrocession of the sun was given as a sign, so was the rainbow, which had it never appeared since, had been miraculous."

THE dial of Ahaz, on which the miracle mentioned by the authors of the Books of the Kings, the Chronicles and the Prophecies of Isaiah, is the earliest on record, although it is the opinion of the best archaologists and biblical scholars, that Ahaz brought the invention of what is called the sun-dial into Judea from Damascus, or some other foreign city that he had visited ; and it is certain, that the mode of measuring time by the motion of the sun's shadow, is of unknown antiquity among the Egyptians, and that their obelisks

* Aloysio de Cada Mosto, a celebrated Venetian navigator of the fifteenth century. He was employed by the Infant Don Henry of Portugal, in expeditions to the western coasts of Africa, and discovered the Cape Verde Islands. He published an account of his voyages in 1567. A brief but interesting account of this medieval voyager is given in the "History of maritime and inland discovery," vol. 1, p. 357.

were used as gnomons, and the angle formed by their great pyramid is apparently parallel to the axis of the earth. One of the explanations given by the Jewish rabbins of the dial or degrees of Ahaz, corresponds in a great degree, with that just described by Wren from Vitruvius. These doctors describe it as a concave hemisphere, in the centre of which was a globe, whose shadow fell upon a series of lines, engraved within the concavity. There is a similar instrument delineated and described in Stuart and Revett's antiquities of Athens. Dr. Kitto, the learned and travelled Editor of the Pictorial Bible, the Biblical Encyclopedia, etc., is of opinion, that the principle of the dial was known to the Egyptians, but that its detailed application was invented by the Babylonians.

As to Wren's assertion that we need not fear the diminution of a miracle by explaining it, it may be remarked, that it has been confirmed by many eminently learned and pious divines of every sect of Christians. Bishop Stock, who published a translation of Isaiah in 1803, says, in his note on this passage, "Thus the miracle from all the accounts of it, might consist only of the retrogression of the shadow ten degrees by a simple act of Almighty power, without any medium, or, at most, by that of refracting those rays only which fell upon the dial. It is not said that any time was lost to the inhabitants of the world at large ; it was not even observed by the astronomers of Babylon, for a deputation came to inquire concerning the wonder that was done in the land ;" and in another part the learned

Prelate says, “ it is certainly as philosophical to speak of the sun returning, as it is of his setting and rising. In Dr. Kitto’s Pictorial Bible, is a representation of a sort of dial and observatory, near Delhi, in Hindûstan, whose construction being that of a lofty flight of stairs, in the form of a right angled triangle, whose hypotheuse, which forms the parapet of the steps, is parallel to the axis of the earth, and casts its shadow on to the hollow of an inverted arch, the extremities of which fall within the walls of two towers, equidistant right and left ; the upper part of which is graduated to mark the hours, etc. The Hebrew language has no word that signifies a dial, and it is properly rendered in the margin of our authorized translation, degrees. Hence it may be concluded, that the degrees of Ahaz were in principle like those at Delhi.

WREN proceeds in his discourse by asking the theologian, who is to explain to him, “ how our Saviour, who was buried on Friday night, and rose again before day on Sunday, could be said to have been three days and three nights in the Sepulchre, when his stay there was but a full day and two nights ? The world,” he says, “ hath hitherto shifted off this difficulty with a synecdoche, by taking in parts of Friday and parts of Sunday ; but yet there wanted a third night. Neither doth GROTIUS, with an exception sometimes of any part of a day or night, for a whole *nycthemeron*, in the civil law, much mend the matter. Here seems to be need of an astronomer, who thus, possibly, may explain it.”

“ WHILE there was made, by the motion of the sun,

a day and two nights in the hemisphere of Judea, at the same time, in the opposite hemisphere, was made a night and two days : join these together, you have three days and three nights ; for Christ suffered not for Judea alone, but for the whole world, and in respect of all the inhabitants of the earth, *conjunctim*, He rested three days and three nights, though in respect of Judea, or any particular horizon, but one day and two nights."

FROM our limited diurnal sphere, our youthful teacher expands his thoughts into the illimitable universe. How boundless and expansive is thought ! He proceeds—

For our instruction to impart
Things above earthly thought*,

and asks, " Who but the astronomer shall explain to us, how many hundred times one of the great luminaries exceeds the other, which is yet but one of some thousands as great as itself, or bigger ? Who can better magnify the ARM that expanded the heavens, than he who tells you, that seven thousand miles will fall short of the diameter of this earth, and yet that this diameter, repeated a thousand times, will not reach the sun ; or, that this distance between the sun and us, repeated a thousand times, reach the nearest fixed star ? And yet, in probability, some are infinitely more remote than others. Certainly, as Secretaries of Princes are they only, from whom true histories of those Princes

* Milton.

are to be expected ; so, he only can describe the world, whom skill in astronomy hath given him right to the glorious title of Hipparchus, to be, *conciliarum naturæ particeps et interpres.*”

“ But not to enlarge in extending the dominion of astronomy to the Empyræum ; her influence is great over sublunary sciences ; among which, should I say that even physic hath its use of astronomy, I might seem to patronize the ungrounded fancies of that sort of astrological medicasters, who do nothing without the favour of their *Achaius*, and entitle one planet or another to every herb or drug, which they suppose invalid, unless mystically timed with this or that aspect ; ceremoniously numbering the critical days, not considering that neither time nor number had any reality *extra intellectum humanum*. But though with contempt of these follies, let me seriously ask the most rational philosophical enquirer into medicine, whether those aphorisms, wherein Hippocrates hath marshalled diseases under the seasons of the year, and the several winds, and the varieties of weathers, have not as much of the aphorisms in them as the rest ; and were not as diligently collected from the brazen tablets, from experiments derived in succession from his aged preceptors before him, and from his own unerring industry, as the rest ? But it may be objected, that these astrological aphorisms savour much of the Chaldean and Syrian, from whom it appears the Grecians received much of their art of healing, as they did almost all their other learning ; and indeed we find by Herodotus, that the

knowledge of Physic by way of aphorism was proper to the Babylonians, who recorded publicly the history of the disease, and the method of cure of every particular patient that recovered, to which records others resorted in difficult cases, that had the like diseases ; and from the great learning of these nations being astrology, we may imagine that they made good observations of epidemical diseases from the distempers of the air, from the celestial influxes, which are now either wholly lost, or depraved, or useless, as not suited to our climate. What other subject those medical books of the friend and contemporary of Hippocrates, Democritus ΠΕΡΙ ᾿ΑΚΑΙΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΚΑΙΡΙΩΝ reckoned in the catalogue of his works by Laertius, should contain, I know not. Sure I am, that if we dissected animals of the same species, in various changes of weather, we should find great difference in the brain, as to dryness or moisture and weight : and in the viscera and mass of blood, as to the quantity and salt in it ; and in the lymphæductus, as to their turgency, as I have frequently tried : and if with these we join the experiments of the fermenting of wines and other liquors against moist weather ; the souring of them in thunder and dry weathers ; adding likewise the history of pests and epidemical diseases, we shall find a great deal of reason to conclude, that there is a true astrology to be found by the inquiring philosopher, which would be of admirable use to physic, though the astrology vulgarly received cannot but be thought to be extremely unreasonable and ridiculous, as any thing

among the many impostures that have been imposed by antiquity upon the credulous world, to him that hath given himself up to demonstration."

"HITHERTO in the greater faculties, theology, sacred and profane history and physic, we have been but little assisted by astronomy ; but if we look into the next class of science, we shall perceive ourselves wholly indebted to her. It is astronomy that enlarged both our understanding and our habitation, hath given politeness and, consequently, religion and laws to the barbarous world. He that looks upon the little parcel of the world, which the ancients contented themselves with, and sees how we furrow the great ocean, and gather our aromatic harvests from the remotest parts of the globe, and can enjoy in our own Europe, whatever Thule or Ethiopia, the rising or the setting sun can produce, must needs rejoice that so much larger an inheritance is fallen to mankind by the favour of astronomy. It was astronomy alone, that of old undertook to guide the creeping ships of the ancients, whenever they would venture to leave the land to find a neighbour shore : though then she was a humoursome guide, and often, veiling the face of heaven with clouds, would cruelly leave them to the giddy protection of fortune, and for the most part only tossed them up and down, and sported herself with their ruin. But if she deigned to show them one glimpse of a star, if but of alcor, or the least albicant spot of heaven, it was enough to pave a way for them homeward, through the horror of the waves and night. In this is truly perceived the influx

of Heaven, when the influx of one *Cynosura* can move a thousand sail of freighted ships, and render one element as habitable and more fruitful than the other, though more hazardous. Thus did the ancients everywhere cultivate the Mediterranean waters ; but their fear of venturing into the ocean, they dissembled by religion, lest they should violate the rites of THETIS and the water-deities."

WREN next proceeds to investigate that most important invention and discovery, the mariner's compass. "At last," he continues, "Astronomy took to herself another assistant, MAGNETICS, a kind of terrestrial astronomy, an art that tells us the motions of our own star we dwell on, whose every fragment moving in true sympathy with the great one, bids us, in spite of clouds, pass the vast ocean, and possess every piece of our own star. Now were the gates of true science opened, and the poor philosophers Anaximander, Anaximenes, Leucippus, Empedocles, are laughed at, for making the earth a pillar, or a table, or a drum, or inclined of its own nature. In a few months we shake hands with the Antipodes, and pity the supposed heretical Bishop, for his unseasonable venting the truth, and also the pious ignorance of the Fathers, that would have the plane earth fixed upon infinite long roots. But divine Astronomy intended to discover to man her own, yet hidden glory, as well as those of the terrestrial globe ; for after the prodigious attempt of Columbus, and as it appears to me, the more difficult voyage of Vasco de Gama, who before pursued the weak beginnings of

*Hanno the Carthagenian, and twice scoured through the torid zone, in doubling the Cape, first finding it habitable, discovering the errors of the ancients concerning Africa, and first opening a way to the Indies by sea. By these and succeeding voyages performed by the circumnavigators of our nation, the earth was concluded to be truly globous, and equally habitable all round. This gave occasion to Copernicus to guess why this body of earth, of so apt a figure for motion, might not move, among other celestial bodies ; it seemed to him in the consequences probable, and apt to solve the appearances ; and finding it among the antiquated opinions, he resolved on this occasion to restore astronomy. And now the learned begin to be warm, the schools ring with this dispute ; all the mathematical men admire the hypothesis for saving nature a great deal of labour, and the apparent absurdity of a moving earth makes the philosophers contemn it, though some of them, taken with the paradox, begin to observe nature, and dare to suppose some old opinions false. Now began the first happy appearance of liberty to philosophy, oppressed by the tyranny of the Greek and Roman monarchies."

WREN, who had suffered so much from being defrauded of his inventions, comes forward with the claims of one of the greatest inventors and discoverers of modern times, Dr. William Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth and James I., who

* Vide "*Periplus Hannonis, inter Geographiæ veteris scriptores Græcos minores,*" ed. Oxon, 1698, vol I. p. 5.

wrote* on the inductive mode of reasoning in matters of philosophy, nearly a quarter of a century before the publication of Lord Bacon's *Novum Organon*. Dr. Gilbert's new physiology was highly praised by Lord Bacon, Dr. Isaac Barrow, and several other eminent philosophers; Descartes borrowed from him, and Halley adopted his hypothesis of a great central magnet in the earth, and applied it to the explanation, of the variation, and dipping of the magnetic needle. Wren, a kindred spirit, absolutely adored him as a mighty inventor.

IN reference to the recent liberation of philosophy from the shackles of the Greek and Roman schools, he told his illustrious auditory, that "among the honourable assertors of this liberty, I must reckon Gilbert, who having found an admirable correspondence between his ferula and the great magnet of the earth, thought this way to determine this great question; and spent his studies and estate upon this enquiry. By which *obiter* he found out many admirable magnetical experiments. This man," he enthusiastically exclaims, "I would have adored, not only as the sole inventor of magnetics, a new science to be added to the bulk of learning, but as the Father of the new philosophy; Cartesius being but a builder on his experiments. This person I should have commended to posterity in a statue, that the deserved marble of HARVEY, might not stand to future ages without a marble companion of his own profession. He kept correspondence with

* In his work entitled "De Magnete, magneticisque corporibus, et de magnate Tellure, Physiologia nova." Folio, London, 1600.

the *Lyncei academici* at Rome, especially with Franciscus Sagredus, one of the interlocutors in the dialogues* of Galilæus, who laboured to prove the motion of the earth, negatively, by taking off objections, but Gilbert positively ; the one hath given us an exact account of the motion of gravity upon the earth, the other of the secret and more obscure motion of attraction and magnetical direction in the earth. The one I must reverence for giving occasion to Kepler, as he himself confesses, of introducing magnetics into the motions of the heavens, and consequently of building the elliptical astronomy ; the other of his perfecting the great invention of telescopes, to confirm this astronomy. So that if one be the Brutus of liberty restored to philosophy, certainly the other must be the Collatinus."

HE next calls the attention of his auditors to "that great foreign wit, KEPLER, the compiler of another new science, Dioptrics, in which branch of the mathematics only, we can boast that we had not the Grecians for our masters ; but more eminent for being the Eudoxus of this age, the inventor of the elliptical hypothesis. But since he was only the first founder of these *magnalia*, and that the perfection of both these are justly to be expected from men of our own nation at this day living, and known to most of this auditory, the *claritas*

* "Dialogues on the two greatest systems of the world, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican ;" first published in 1632, and caused a second cry of heresy against him, another citation before the Inquisition of Rome, and a second imprisonment. The dialogues were also censured and publicly burned.

of these latter makes me cease from a larger encomium of Kepler, and reserve it for posterity to bestow upon them, when it shall be more seasonable to give them an apotheosis among those great inventors that I have named."

POSTERITY has given these illustrious men, these great inventors, the apotheosis he foretold, and the names of Boyle and Newton vouch for the due fulfilment of the prophecy. Wren then proceeds by observing, that "of all the arguments which the learning of this inquisitive age have busied themselves with, the perfection of these two, dioptrics and the elliptical astronomy, seem most worthy our inquiry; for natural philosophy having been of late ordered into a geometrical way of reasoning from ocular experiments, that it might prove a real science of nature, not an hypothesis of what nature might be, the perfection of telescopes and microscopes, by which our sense is so infinitely advanced, seems to be the only way to penetrate into the most hidden parts of nature, and to make the most of the creation."

"I CANNOT, most worthy auditors," he continues, "but very much please myself in introducing Seneca, in his prophecy of the new world—

Venient annis sæcula seris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat Tellus,
Novosque Tiphys detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule*.

* Medea, Act II.

But then I only begin to value the advantages of this age in learning, before the former, when I fancy him continuing his prophecy, and imagine how much the ancient laborious inquirers would envy us, should he have sung to them, that a time would come, when men should be able to stretch out their eyes, as snails do, and extend them fifty feet in length ; by which means they should be able to discover two thousand times as many stars as we can ; and find the galaxy to be myriads of them, and every nebulous star appearing as if it were the firmament of some other world at an incomprehensible distance, buried in the vast abyss of intermundious vacuum. That they should see Saturn, a very *Proteus*, changing more admirably than our moon, by the various turnings and inumbration of his several bodies, and accompanied by a moon of his own. That they should find Jupiter to be an oval earth, whose night is enlightened by four several moons, moving in various swiftnesses, and making multitudes of eclipses. That they should see Mars, Venus and Mercury, to wax and wane ; and of the moon herself, that they should have a prospect as if they were hard by, discovering the height and shape of the mountains, and depths of round and uniform valleys, the shadows of the mountains, the figure of the shores, describing pictures of her with more accurateness than we can our own globe, and therein requiting the moon for her own labours, who, to discover our longitudes by eclipsing the sun, hath pointed out the countries upon our globe, with the point of her conical shadow as with a

pencil. After all this, if he should have told them how the very fountain of light is variegated with its *Faculæ* and *Maculæ*, proceeding round in regular motions, would not any of the astronomers of his time have changed their whole life for a few windy days, in which principally the solar spots appear, or a few clear nights of our *Sæculum*?

“BUT,” says the youthful sage, “I have lost myself upon this subject, as endless as the universe itself; so large a field of philosophy is the very contemplation of the phases of the celestial bodies, that a true description of the body of Saturn only, were enough for the life of one astronomer, how much more the various motions of them; which I am not now to descant on, but reserve for the continual subject of my future discourses in this place—a place, in which the magnificence of our illustrious founder, GRESHAM, hath adorned this opulent city with the profession of the sciences in his own house, by a rare example, leaving the muses to be here his heirs and successors for ever; who seem to be affected with the place, having preserved it in esteem, by furnishing it hitherto with men of most eminent abilities, especially in mathematical sciences: among whom the names of GUNTER, *BREREWOOD, GELLIBRAND, FOS-

* Edward Brerewood was the first professor of astronomy in Gresham College; on his death he was succeeded by Edmund Gunter, B.D., the inventor of the sector, a small quadrant for astronomical purposes, and the mathematical scale that bears his name. Henry Gellibrand, the learned Editor and completer of the mathematical works of Henry Briggs, the Savilian professor of astronomy in Oxford, succeeded Gunter, and Samuel Foster, one of three brothers, all able mathematicians,

TER, are fresh in the mouths of all mathematicians for the excellent remains they have either left behind them in print, or adorned the tables with in reading. Among which, the useful invention of logarithms, as it was wholly of a British art, so here especially received great additions ; and likewise the whole doctrine of magnetics, as it was of English birth, so by the Professors of this place was augmented by the first invention and observation of the mutation of the magnetical variation ; a thing, I confess, as yet crude, yet what may prove of consequence in philosophy, and of so great use possibly to the navigator, that thereby we may attain the knowledge of longitudes, than which former industry hath hardly left any thing more glorious to be aimed at in art."

Thus introduced into the City of London, the youthful Professor rendered appropriate homage to the native city of Gresham ; saying—" Since the Professorship I am honoured with is a benefit I enjoy from this city, I cannot conclude without a good omen to it. I must needs celebrate it, as particularly favoured by the celestial influences ; a Pandora, on which each planet hath contributed something. Saturn hath given it diuturnity, and to reckon an earlier era, *ab urbe conditâ*, than Rome itself. Jupiter hath made it the perpetual seat of Kings and Courts of Justice, and filled it with inexhausted wealth. Mars has armed it with power,

succeeded Gellibrand. Rooke, as before mentioned, was Wren's predecessor. Accounts of all these eminent men and their works, are given in Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors.

the sun looks most benignly on it ; for what city in the world, so vastly populous, doth yet enjoy so healthy an air, so fertile a soil ? Venus hath given it a pleasant situation, watered by the most amœne river of Europe, and beautified with the external splendour of myriads of fine buildings. Mercury hath nourished it in mechanical arts and trade, to be equal with any city in the world ; nor hath forgotten to furnish it abundantly with liberal sciences, amongst which I must congratulate this city that I find in it so general a relish for mathematics and the *libera philosophia*, in such a measure, as is hardly to be found in the academies themselves. Lastly the moon, the lady of the waters, seems amorously to court this place :

atque urbem magis omnibus unam,
Posthabitâ, coluisse, Delo.

“ For to what city doth she invite the ocean so far within land as here ? Communicating by the Thames whatever the banks of Maragnon or Indus can produce, and at the reflux warming the frigid zone with our cloth ; and sometimes carrying and returning safe those carines that have encompassed the whole globe. And now, since navigation brings with it wealth, splendour, politeness and learning, what greater happiness can I wish to the Londoners, than that they may continually deserve to be deemed, as formerly, the great navigators of the world ; that they may be what the Tyrians first, and then the Rhodians, were called, ‘ the Masters of

the sea ;' and that London may be an Alexandria, the established residence of the mathematical arts ?"

THIS address was Wren's introduction to public business, and he maintained the character through life, that his friends augured from his well-cultivated youth, and early manhood. But the well-merited compliment to our two eminent countrymen, who discovered and illustrated the magnetic science and the circulation of the blood had scarcely ceased to vibrate on the ears of his auditory, when the latter of these sages was called from the busy world of practical science and philanthropy, to sleep with his fathers. William Harvey, to whom the world is indebted for the most important anatomical discovery on record, died this year, at the Nestorian age of fourscore years.

AFTER the delivery of this inaugural oration, Wren continued his astronomical lectures at Gresham college, every Wednesday in term time, to the same enlightened auditory who had attended the prelections of Mr. Rooke. Wren's lectures became of two-fold importance, not only from their intrinsic merit, but as leading to the formation and establishment of the Royal Society of England.

EARLY in the year 1658, the leading members of "the club" came to London, as it was usual with them, after Wren's election, to attend his lectures on Astronomy, and Mr. Rooke's on Geometry ; at which they were joined by Lord Viscount Brouncker, who had taken the degree of M.D. at Oxford, Lord Brereton, Sir Paul Neile, Sir George Ent, John Eveylyn, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Croune,

who founded the Crounian lectures on Algebra, in Cambridge, Messrs. Henshaw, Slingsby, and other patrons and professors of experimental, natural philosophy.

In addition to his duties as professor of Astronomy, Wren's presence at "the club," which now met in his lecture room, was always desired, and his attendance was punctual, and uninterrupted, except at the death of his father in the spring of this year. "The club" had by this time excited the attention of all the learned men in Europe, who corresponded with its members on philosophical and scientific subjects. PASCAL, who had obtained celebrity by solving Mersennus's problem on the cycloidal curve, propounded a problem on some properties of the ellipsis, to the learned men of England, under the assumed name of John de Montfert. Wren solved and answered it immediately, and propounded another to the eminent mathematicians of France, which had been formerly proposed by Kepler, and privately solved by Wren, but never answered by the French *savans*. These victories and four profound mathematical tracts which he contributed to Dr. Wallis's elaborate treatise on the cycloid raised the fame of Wren all over Europe. This competition led to a correspondence between him and Pascal, on the subject of their disputations which the latter published the same year in Paris. In this year, also, Wren discovered a straight line equal to a cycloid and its parts, to which he obtained the testimony of Lord Brouncker and Dr. Wallis, as a security against that piracy which had assailed some other of his inventions and dis-

coveries ; and whilst his colleague, Rooke, was pursuing his investigations of the satellites of Jupiter, he made a series of observations upon the body and phases of Saturn, which he communicated to the public in his Gresham lectures.

THE year 1658 is also memorable, from the death of Oliver Cromwell, on the third day of September, and the succession of his son Richard to the Protectorate. The character of that eminent personage, belongs more to history and the art-military than to literature and science, and is too well known to general readers to require any elucidation in these pages.

THIS event was one of great moment to the nation, and especially so to "the club" and its professor of astronomy. Wren's family had suffered persecution and imprisonment for their loyalty, and the pursuits of himself and fellows, were either disliked or despised by the Protector and his government, always excepting their illustrious Latin secretary, Milton. They, however, continued their lectures and discussions, till they were dispersed by the disturbances which followed the Protector's death, and Gresham College became a barrack for soldiers.

BISHOP SPRAT, in his history of the Royal Society, gives a full account of the calamities that befel both the club and the college, which were so dreadful, he writes, that they could not be beheld upon paper without horror. After the death of Cromwell, Wren retired, as was his custom during the Gresham College vacations to his peaceful studies and experiments in Oxford.

Sprat, in a letter to Wren, which is given in Parentalia and in my memoirs of the latter, writes that Gresham College was garrisoned by the rebels, and the residents driven out. He found "it in such a nasty condition, so defiled, and the smells so infernal, that if you should now come to make use of your tube, it would be like Dives looking out of hell into heaven. Dr. Goddard" he says, "of all your colleagues alone keeps possession, which he could never be able to do, had he not before prepared his nose for camp perfumes, by his voyage into Scotland, and had he not such excellent restoratives in his cellars." Dr. Goddard was Professor of Medicine and Chemistry, had been physician to Cromwell, whom he attended, as such, in his Scotch and Irish campaigns. Hence, perhaps, his immunity from attacks by the republican soldiers. The alarmed prelate, informs Wren, that amidst these alarming distractions "your many friends here, hope you will hereafter recompense this unhappy leisure, by making those admirable discourses which you had intended for this place, now public; and that you will imitate Cicero, who being hindered from pronouncing his oration *pro Milone*, by the guards of Pompey's soldiers that encompassed his chair, set it forth, afterwards, more perfect than all the rest."

WHEN the Michaelmas term began, Wren's cousin Matthew, son of the imprisoned Bishop of Ely, wrote to Oxford, concerning the state of Gresham-college. He went the first day to try whether Dr. Horton would entertain the new auditory of Gresham, the

soldiers, with any lecture, taking it for granted, as he informs his cousin Christopher, that if the Reverend Doctor's divinity could be spared, Wren's mathematics would not be expected. But the expectant civilian, was stopped at the gate, by an armed soldier, who told him there was no admission on that account, the college having been reformed into a garrison. He procured admission to Dr. Goddard, who assured him, that none of his colleagues would appear this term, unless the soldiers were removed, of which there was no probability.

THE whole metropolis was in a state of alarm and confusion; from Gresham-college, Matthew Wren went to Westminster, where he found only Keudigate and Windham in the two common-law courts, Wild and Parker in the Exchequer and in the Court of Chancery no one, "for Bradshaw," he writes, "keeps the seal, as if it were to be carried before him in the other world, whither he is going," and whither he did go the following year. Short as the time was from the death of Oliver Cromwell to this period, less than two months, there was much talk, writes Matthew to his cousin of the mediation of the two Crowns of France and Spain, and that Marshal Clerambault was expected as ambassador from France, for that purpose.

WREN and his brother professors were not the only persons in this unsettled period, who held back from their public duties, from a dislike to the persons in power. John Evelyn, records in his diary, that when summoned to London, by the Commissioners for new buildings,

of which body he was a member, and also by the Commissioners of Sewers, and found there was an oath of fidelity to the new Protector and his government, to be taken, he excused himself and returned home.

EVELYN saw and describes the superb funeral of the late Protector, who with his family, had for some time assumed almost regal state. He was carried from Somerset-house, on a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, with velvet housings, the pall held up by his newly-created Lords. "Oliver," says Evelyn, "was lying in effigy in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, etc. by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed *cap-a-pied*: and after all, his guards, soldiers and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster, but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw, for there none that cried but the dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went."

WHATEVER feelings Cromwell may have indulged in, as to assuming the regal title as well as authority, his modesty cannot be commended, in the figure-head of one of the large ships he built towards the close of his life, which Evelyn describes in his diary, as having seen on his completion. He describes the vessel as carrying ninety-six brass guns, and being of one thou-

sand tons burden. In the prow was the Protector on horseback, trampling six nations under his feet ; represented by an Englishman, a Scotchman and an Irishman, a Frenchman, Dutchman and a Spaniard, all distinguished by their national habits ; and a figure of Fame held a laurel crown over his head, with a motto "*God with us.*" This is scarcely surpassed by his vainglorious contemporary Louis XIV, who permitted his obsequious subjects, to represent him, in one of the numerous statues which they erected to him, with Victory covering him with her wings and crowning him with laurels ; and the following distich, written by M. de Santeul, the best modern Latin Poet that France has produced.

ASPICE QUEM TOTIS AMBIT VICTORIA PENNIS,
HIC PELAGO, HIC TERRIS, HIC SIBI JURA DEDIT.

ENGLISH historians have written of England's great Protector, as their feelings were either Monarchical, Democratical or Republican, Jacobite or Hanoverian, Whig or Tory ; but public characters, and public history are often more impartially written by persons foreign in country, or distant in age and place from the objects of their criticism. The eloquent Bishop of Meaux, so renowned for his orations and characters of public persons, comes under the former portion of this category, but as a contemporary of the Protector, as a countryman of his enemies, and as a friend of the exiled Royal Family of England, then resident in France, he does not appertain to the latter.

IN Bossuet's funeral oration upon the Princess Hen-

rietta Maria of France, widow of Charles I. of England, the orator takes occasion to say, that Cromwell was a man in whom an incredible power of genius, refined and subtle hypocrisy, as well as a skilful policy, were ably united ; capable of undertaking the greatest projects, and of * concealing his intentions, and was equally active and indefatigable in peace and in war. That he left nothing to fortune, which he could execute by wise counsel and foresight. Besides which, he was so vigilant, and so prepared for events, that he was never deficient or taken by surprise when they arrived. In fine, that he was one of those restless and daring spirits, which appear to be born to change the aspect of the world.

M. COURTIN, in a report of his embassy from Louis XIV. to the court of the Protector, says, Cromwell was merciful or cruel as suited his interests, had no faith in religion, was true to his word, and constant in his friendships, so long as the appearance of these virtues tended to his aggrandisement. He knew better than any man in the world the dissimulations and sanctified grimaces of the fanatics who surrounded him, and concealed under these popular and humble

* Richelieu's estimate of himself partakes of this prudent sagacity ; " I dare not," says the vigorous and decisive Armand du Plessis, " undertake any thing till I have thoroughly weighed it ; but when I have made my determination, I go to my end ; I overturn all ; I mow down all ; nothing stops me ; and, in fine, I cover all with my scarlet cassock." Here is Cromwell to an iota ; but our Protector covered his all with his iron cuirass, scull-cap and jack-boots—the scarlet garb of the Babylonian woman suited not him.

manners an unbounded ambition. In the opinion of this able French minister, Cromwell possessed, in the highest degree, all the qualities of a great politician ; and there was nothing wanting to his fortunes, than to have acquired them by better means, to have lived longer, and to have had children worthy of succeeding him.

THE personal character of the celebrated German commander, Albert Wallenstein, as delineated by Sarasin, resembles that of Cromwell, in many particulars. He was, says this writer, of a bold and commanding mind, but of a restless and unquiet spirit ; of a tall and vigorous body, with a countenance more majestic than agreeable. He was sober by nature, slept little, laboured continually, bore cold and hunger with ease, avoided luxuries, and prevented disease by temperance and exercise. He spoke little, but thought much, wrote his dispatches and correspondence with his own hand, was brave and judicious in the field, admirable in raising and supporting his troops, severe in punishment, prodigal in rewarding bravery and good conduct. He was firm under misfortune, civil in poverty, but at other times proud and audacious ; ambitious beyond measure, envious of the glory of others, jealous of his own, implacable in his hatred, cruel in his vengeance, and prompt to anger. Fond of magnificence*, of ostentation and novelty ; extravagant

* That Cromwell loved magnificence is clear, from all accounts of his mode of living. Evelyn, on the 11th February 1656, visited Whitehall, "and found it glorious, very glorious, and well furnished." *Diary of that date.*

in appearance, doing nothing without design, and never wanting pretexts, that it was all for the public good, although it was for the advancement of his own fortune. A despiser of Religion, which he always made subservient to politics. He was all artifice, yet disinterested in appearance ; acute in discovering the intention of others, he knew how to conceal and conduct his own councils, and was as impenetrable in private as he pretended to be free and candid in public ; blaming that dissimulation in others, which he practised so successfully himself.

THE intriguing interval between the death of the Protector and the restoration of monarchy, did not allay the desire for useful knowledge, particularly for experimental natural Philosophy, which still increased and prospered. The formation of a regular and extensive Society, for the cultivation and encouragement of such studies occupied the minds of many distinguished persons in London, Oxford and Cambridge. Evelyn*, who had thought long and seriously upon the subject communicated in the autumn of 1659 his proposal for erecting a philosophical and mathematical college.

In addition to the numerous literary and scientific pursuits which occupied the active and inquiring mind of Wren, the study of chemistry held a place. Boyle, also, loved and patronized the science, and introduced to " the club " Peter Sthael, whom Wood the Oxford historian, calls " the noted chemist and Rosicrucian." This adept was a native of Strasburg, and numbered

* See his Diary, September 1, 1659.

among his pupils, Boyle, Wren, Dr. Wallis and other members of the club and university. Matters in Gresham-college having resumed a more philosophical aspect than when Wren might have feared the fate of Archimedes, the lectures were recommenced, and he delivered a course on the nature and properties of light and refraction.

WREN, who now occupied himself with his experiments, studies and researches in his fellowship at All-Souls, in the learned discussions, of "the club" and in the preparation and delivery of his Gresham lectures, was, on the resignation of Dr. Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, elected to the Chair of Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, and was admitted to that distinguished office on the 15th May 1660, a few days before the unconditional restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors.

THE short Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, which was weak and doubtful from the first, terminated at the same time without civil war or bloodshed, by the restoration of monarchy, in the person of the selfish, sensual, ungrateful Charles the Second.

THE nation was now in extreme confusion, by the disturbances between the leaders of the armies and the sectaries ; for as soon as the corpse of the stern Protector was deposited, by his drunken soldiery and vainglorious partisans, in its unquiet grave, among his royal predecessors in Westminster, than intrigue, trickery and anarchy revelled at large throughout the

kingdom. The preceding letters to Christopher Wren, show the state of anarchy and military terror to which the metropolis was reduced.

IN November 1659, Evelyn, a staunch and prudent royalist, published his bold* "Apology for the King," in a time of great danger, when it was a capital offence to write or speak in favour of their exiled monarch. About the same time, the Army turned out the Parliament, no government existed, no chief magistrate was either acknowledged or obeyed, except the military, and they at discord among themselves. In December, Evelyn began a private treaty† with Colonel Herbert Morley, then Lieutenant of the Tower, a man in great trust and power, concerning surrendering that fortress to the King, as well as Portsmouth, of which arsenal, Mr. Fagg, the Colonel's brother-in-law, was governor. There is no doubt, that if Colonel Morley had taken his schoolfellow Evelyn's advice, he might have attained the honours that General Monk subsequently achieved, for he was one of the five commissioners for the command of the army; but he was disliked and viewed with much jealousy by Lambert and Fleetwood, who were playing their own under-plots with Richard the new Protector and General Monk, who underplotted and beat them all.

* Reprinted in Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," 4to. 1825, p.p. 169-192.

† The details of this affair, are printed in the appendix to Evelyn's Diary, 8vo. 1850, p.p. 422-426.

ON the 3rd February 1660, General Monk arrived in London with a large body of troops from Scotland, but he veiled his intentions with profound mystery. On the 10th, he broke down the city gates, which had been closed against him, marched in triumph through the streets, turned the fanatical soldiers out of their quarters, and sent them to a distance. The next day Monk marched to Whitehall, turned out the Rump* Parliament, and convened the former one. On the 3rd May, news arrived in London of the King's declaration and application to the Parliament, General Monk and the People of England. These were joyfully and unconditionally accepted, and on the 8th, King Charles the Second was proclaimed in London. Thus ended the English commonwealth.

WHILST these political intrigues were distracting the country, young Wren and his scientific friends were cultivating the arts of peace, in tranquil seclusion. The last lecture delivered in Gresham College, before the expulsion of its professors, by the fanatics, was by Wren, on the nature and properties of light and refraction. In January 1660, Dr. Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, resigned the Savilian professor's chair of astronomy in the University of Oxford, and Wren was elected his successor. Cowley, the poet, added his contribution towards the establishment of a

* Evelyn says in his diary, that, for joy at this event, thousands of rumps were roasted at bonfires in the streets, amidst ringing of bells, and universal jubilee.

philosophic college, which Dr. Sprat, the historian of the Royal Society, admits, greatly assisted Wren, Boyle, Evelyn and other distinguished lovers and patrons of experimental Philosophy and Science in the formation of that eminent body.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. TO HIS DEATH.

A. D. 1660 TO 1685.

“ To gratify the good Andronicus
And gratulate his safe return to Rome,
The people will accept whom he admires.”

SHAKESPEARE.

CHARLES II. was a refugee in Holland at the time of his father's death. He immediately assumed the title of King, and passed over to Scotland, where he was crowned at Scone. On the approach of Cromwell, the young King entered England, passed his republican opponents, and reached Worcester with his small band of royalists, where he was signally defeated. After undergoing many privations and dangers, he escaped his pursuers and reached France in safety. He passed some years in Paris, little regarded by the Court of Louis XIV. his maternal uncle, who was awed by the growing power and influence of the Protector and the Commonwealth of England. These indignities caused Charles to visit Holland, Spain and Germany; and resided a considerable time at Cologne, where he was hospitably received and kindly treated, as he acknowledged when he received an address from that city after his restoration.

HOWEVER slightly the French Court behaved to Charles during his exile, they sought his friendship and alliance after his restoration ; and in less than a year after that event, Philip Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis XIV. was married to the Princess Henrietta-Anne, sister of Charles II. After a discordant marriage of nearly nine years' duration, the Duchess died suddenly, with strong suspicions of poison, which was passed over by both courts as an affair of ordinary occurrence. The Duke's education had been purposely neglected by the learned, licentious and sceptical M. de la Mothe le Vayer, to whom Cardinal Mazarin said—"Why should you make the King's brother a clever man ? If he become more learned than the King, he will not know how to yield him implicit obedience." He was left in ignorance, and became dissipated, vain and effeminate. The Princess is described by a cotemporary writer*, as very young, handsome, amiable and graceful ; surrounded by the greatest coquettes of the court, who were all the mistresses of her enemies, who tried to overwhelm her with misery, by embroiling her with her husband. Her gaieties caused the Duke to be jealous, and the opposite tastes of the Duke to hers, made her indignant. His favourites, who hated her, sowed discord between the Royal couple, which lasted till the death of the Duchess.

THE restoration of monarchy to England in the person

* *Fragmens de Lettres originales de Madame Charlotte-Elisabeth de Baviere, veuve de Monsieur, frère unique du Roi.* Paris, 1733. This lady became the second wife of the Duke.

of Charles the second, would have been as happy as his wearied people wished, had the King learned wisdom in exile, and the nation prudence, when they recalled him. On the death of Cromwell, Louis XIV. acknowledged Richard Cromwell, as Protector of the Commonwealth of England, and renewed his public relations, with the new chief magistrate. On the conclusion of the war between France and Spain, the year after the death of Cromwell, the exiled King, learning from England the apathy of the new Protector and the cabals among the leading men of his government, besought Cardinal Mazarin the negociator for France, and Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish Minister, to aid him in recovering the throne of his ancestors, but his applications were slighted by both. It is questionable, if his solicitations had been complied with, whether a foreign army would have been in any degree so successful, as the voluntary recall of the Royal Family by the people of England.

THE King returned after seventeen years' exile, to a rejoicing people, whom he knew not, and who knew not him. The few English people with whom he associated were mostly profligates and outcasts, such as the cast off strumpet of Algernon Sidney and his brother Robert, from whom the King purloined her, and shared the double paternity of the handsome and dissolute Duke of Monmouth, too handsome, and too much like Robert Sidney, says the biographer of James II. even to a wart on his face, to make any doubt whose child he was, and the desperate gamesters

and roués* that followed his broken fortunes and reckless mockery of a court. The old nobility and gentry of England, disgusted with the hypocrisy and tyranny of the fanatics, who kept even Cromwell in awe and from assuming the regal title as well as power, sighed for the restoration of their titles, their state, and their pleasures ; the Bishops in *nubibus*, the episcopalians, both clerical and laical, desired emancipation from the holes and corners into which themselves and their sacred services were driven, and the whole country, with the exception of the fanatics, who clung to Whitehall and the Rump, called out like the Israelites of old, for monarchy, and thought even a bad King was better than no King at all. Thus Charles returned with a dissolute train of titled libertines, profligate rakes, old and worn out Bishops, some of whom were warping towards Popery, others accused of Socinianism, but all too much gratified at the restoration of Monarchy and the hopes of toleration, and a restitution of their property, sees and rich livings, and to witness the visibility of the Church, to think much of conditions.

THE people were mad with joy, and thronged in such crowds to present themselves, and kiss his hand, that persons on real business could scarcely approach him, and left him hardly time to eat for many days ;

* "*Roué* s. m. scélérat qui mérite la roue" says the Dictionnaire de l'Académie, "*roués*, nom qu'un donnoit au libertins titré du temps de la regne de Louis XIV." Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon. "*Maitresses et Roués*," being the feminine and masculine genders of the genus, Titled-Libertines, or Debauchees.

and the King was as ready to receive as the people were to pay, these unconsidered compliments. Evelyn, who was ever an advocate for high-church and monarchy, in reflecting on the attacks which the Church of England sustained, in his days, from the papists on one hand, the sectaries on the other, and from that apathy within, which gave up the reins without being certain of regaining them, remarks, that* “our Bishops slipped the occasion ; for, had they held a steady hand upon His Majesty’s restoration, as they might easily have done, the Church of England had emerged and flourished without interruption ; but they were then remiss, and covetous after advantages of another kind, whilst His Majesty suffered them to come into a harvest, with which, without any injustice, he might have remunerated innumerable gallant gentlemen for their services, who had ruined themselves in the late rebellion.” Mr. Evelyn points at the large and numerous fines for renewals of leases for lives which had not been filled up during the Commonwealth, and were, after the reformation, continually being applied for. Bishop Burnell, a brother prelate and a cotemporary, says, they were much misapplied.

WREN and his philosophical colleagues of Oxford and Gresham, rejoiced no less at the restoration of monarchy and the restitution of former customs than did the rest of the nation. Plans and proposals for the improvement of manners, education, philosophy, and all things of national import, burst from the closets

* Diary, 8vo. Ed. 1850, vol. II. p. 71.

and cloisters wherein they had been digested and matured in secret, like pent-up steam released from the boiler to give life and utility to multifarious machinery. The first and greatest effect of this mental liberation, of the recommencement of the meetings and lectures at Gresham College, was the foundation of "The Royal Society for the improvement of natural knowledge by experiment." The objects of this great and useful society, as given by its historian, Bishop Sprat, was to collect faithful records of all the works of nature and art which may come within their reach ; so that their age and posterity could be able to mark the errors which had been strengthened by long prescription : to restore truths that had lain neglected, to advance those already known to more various uses, and to make the way more passable to those which were unrevealed. Other objects are also detailed, tending to enlarge knowledge from being confined to the custody of a few, to put it into a condition of perpetually increasing by settling an inviolable correspondence between the hand and the head ; to effect reformatations in philosophy, not so much by any solemnity of laws, or ostentation of ceremonies, as by solid practice and example ; not by a vain-glorious pomp of words, but by the silent, effectual and unanswerable arguments of real productions ; and, they finally avowed, that they professed not to lay the foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish or Protestant Philosophy, but a philosophy of mankind.

On the 28th November 1660, at the conclusion of

Wren's lecture at Gresham College, the leading members of the philosophic club withdrew into his room, and discussed some of the details of the proposed society, and continued their discussions weekly after his lectures. On the 5th December, Sir Robert Moray informed the members, that the king had heard of their intentions, which he highly approved, and would give it every encouragement. Wren was intrusted to draw the preamble to the charter, which was adopted as it now stands at the head of that document. The club continued its meetings, experiments and discussions as before, both at Oxford and Gresham, till the formation of the Royal Society.

AMONG other works of Wren, in the *annus mirabilis*, as it was the fashion to call the year of the restoration, were experiments on the pendulum, considerations on the philosophy of shipping, conjointly with Sir William Petty, and a method for the construction of solar eclipses, which was considered so excellent that it was published by Dr. Flamstead the Astronomer Royal, in his work on the doctrine of the sphere, as well as some years afterwards by Sir Jonas Moore in his system of the mathematics and was long followed as being the most concise and plain. He also wrote a series of papers on the longitude, began early in his life, and continued to within a short time of his death. The portion written in this year was on the various ways used by the ancients and others of later times, for finding the longitude, and methods proposed by him

for that purpose, with diagrams of proper instruments to be used.

THE important documents belonging to the knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, which had been so long preserved by Dean Wren and his family*, as before-mentioned, were delivered by Mr. Wren to Dr. Ryves, the new Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Order, as appears by a receipt in the manuscript copy of Parentalia in the library of the Royal Society, from which it was copied for my large quarto life of the architect. They had not, however, similar success in recovering the George and Garter of Gustavus the Great, which contained four hundred and ninety eight diamonds, and had been returned after that heroic monarch's death in the victorious battle of Lutzen, in pursuance of the statutes of the order. By command of Charles I., they were committed to the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, to be preserved in their treasury, as a memorial of that renowned knight, who fought, conquered and died wearing those jewels†, "to the great honour of the order, and as a true martial Prince and Companion thereof." Dean Wren, to prevent the loss of these heroic memorials, took the

* Page 13.

† "I do acknowledge that I have received of Mr. Christopher Wren, the son of Mr. Dean Wren, a box, in which are the three register books and other note books, all relating to the most noble Order of the Garter ; in testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this 11th day of August, in the year 1660. (Signed) BRUNO RYVES."

‡ See ASHMOLE's Order of the Garter. Pages 203 and 641.

precaution, at the breaking out of the civil war in 1642, to remove and conceal them under the floor of the Treasury, and deposited a sealed letter descriptive of the hiding place and its contents with a trustworthy friend. Here they remained till March 1645, just before the decisive battle of Nazeby, when they were discovered by Cornelius Holland, an officer in the parliamentary army, who delivered them to Colonel Ven, Governor of Windsor Castle, by whom they were given to Colonel Whitchcott his successor, the man who prevented the burial service of the Church of England to be used when the mutilated body of his Sovereign was committed to the silent vaults of his ancestors under the Chapel of St. George in that royal residence. They were subsequently removed by John Hunt, Treasurer to the Trustees appointed by the Long Parliament, for the sale of the crown property, and sold by them to Thomas Beauchamp, their clerk.

EARLY in January 1661, the new Society commenced their session in Wren's apartment in Gresham College, and added Robert Boyle, John Evelyn, Sir John Denham, Messrs. Ashmole, Henshaw, Oldenburg and Rawlins to the number of their Fellows. Their experiments at this time were on the barometer; Evelyn, on his introduction, presented his Circle of mechanical trades, and was solicited to publish his treatise on Chalcography.

IF the family and friends of Cromwell were wrong in depositing the mortal remains of the once-powerful

Protector in regal state and magnificence, in the royal vaults of the Tudors at Westminster, Charles the second and his advisers were no less so in wreaking their bootless revenge, by "dragging out their carcasses," as Evelyn* calls them, in his pious indignation, "of those arch rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton, out of their superb tombs among the Kings at Westminster, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there, from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride, being spectators. Look back at October 1658, Oliver's funeral." The presumption, perhaps, led to the retribution. Nor is it more creditable to the feelings of either the restored Monarch, for one more absolute or uncontrolled by conditions or law, perhaps never sat on the English throne, or of his advisers, than, that after the public execution of Axtell, Carew, Clement, Hacker, Hewson and Peters, within five months after the "Happy Restoration," as it was called, by Act of Parliament, that three days afterwards another exhibition of the same sort was commanded to be performed at Charing Cross, on the bodies of Scott, Scroope, Cook and Jones, which was honoured by the royal presence of the King and his Court. "I saw not their execution," says Evelyn, "but met their quarters, mangled, and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdles;" and this

* See his Diary, for January 30, 1661, the first public fast for the beheading of Charles I.

in the face of Charles's letter* to the Parliament, wherein he submitted himself and all things to them, as to an act of oblivion to all, unless they shall please to except any, also as to the sale of the King's and Church lands, if they see good. The King's promises in adversity, and his performance of them in prosperity, too much resembled the sanctified sickness of another swarthy monarch and his holy practices when convalescent.

THE Philosophic Club began now to feel the cheering effects of royal patronage. In March 1661, Sir Robert Moray was elected President, and being the first member so appointed, has occasioned him to be sometimes called the first President of the Royal Society; whereas, in the subsequent charter of incorporation, Lord Brouncker is named to that distinguished office, and is, consequently, its first President. In this more formal state, Wren poured forth from the abundance of his mental stores so profusely, and with so little care as to ownership, as to supply others, who not only promulgated them to the world, to the great benefit of science, but dishonestly published them as their own discoveries or inventions. He complained sharply that Oldenburg, their secretary, often neglected to enter his papers in the transactions, but also sent his inventions and copies of his tracts abroad, where they were published and claimed by foreigners. Even his scientific colleague, Dr. Wallis, the able controverter of Hobbes, is among the pillagers

* Read in the House of Commons, May 2, 1660.

of Wren. Aubrey, a cotemporary and friend of both, says of this Reverend Pirate*, "He is a person of real worth, and may stand with much glory on his own basis, and need not be beholden to any man for fame, of which he is so extremely greedy, that he steals feathers from others to adorn his own cap. For example, he lies at watch for Sir Christopher Wren's discourses, Mr. Robert Hooke, Dr. William Holder, etc., puts down their notions in his note-book, and then prints it without owning the authors." Among these robberies, there is little doubt but Wallis's demonstration of the equation of a straight line to a parabola, published in 1659, and his work, *De cycloide et corporibus inde genitis*, etc., were taken from the well-plumed cap of his illustrious friend.

WHILST Wren was pursuing his experiments and investigations in the quiet recesses of All Souls College, Oxford, he received the King's commands, to construct a solid globe of the moon, wherein he had made some progress, and to complete his micrographical investigations. The lunar globe was soon finished and presented to the King, who received it with great satisfaction, and ordered it to be placed among the most valuable articles of his cabinet. The globe was fixed upon a pedestal of *lignum vitæ*, with a scale of miles, and an inscription†, not unworthy the Latinity and

* AUBREY'S *Lives of Eminent Men*, Vol. ii. p. 570.

† It is as follows, "Carolo secundo M. Br. Fr. et Hib. R. ejus amplitudini quia unus non sufficit, novum hunc orbem selenesphærio expressum. D. D. CHR. WREN."

laconic flattery of de Santeul, or any other Ludovician Academician. M. de Sorbiere, a French Protestant physician, who, by turning papist, was rewarded by his sovereign with the title of *Historiographe du Roi*, and by Pope Clement IX, whom he had flattered from his hat to his tiara, by empty honours, which he received by saying—"Most Holy Father, you give ruffles to a man who is without a shirt;" took upon himself to vilify this addition to the King of England's royalties, and other things which he saw during his short visit. Evelyn calls him a schemer, who had passed through a thousand shapes to ingratiate himself in the world; after having been an Aristarchus, physician, or rather mountebank, philosopher, critic and politician. Bishop Sprat replied to the Frenchman's attack upon his country, but M. de Voltaire subsequently did justice to all parties at issue, by saying he "would not imitate M. de Sorbiere, who, having stayed three months in England, without knowing anything of its manners or of its language, thought fit to publish a relation, which proved but a dull scurrilous satire upon a nation he knew nothing of."

THE coronation of the restored King took place at Westminster, on St. George's day of this year, with extraordinary magnificence, and with a real joy on the part of the People of England, that would have filled the heart of a sensible Prince with delight and gratitude, but our second Charles was made of other metal. His selfish coldness and ingratitude is well known, and Evelyn's description of his reception by

the old Bishop of Durham*, “to whom,” he says, “I had been kind, and assisted in his exile ; but which he little remembered in his greatness,” is a striking picture of the Court, the *maitresses et roués*, who returned from exile with their Royal Master.

THE King, in honour of his coronation, created many Peers of his fortunately recovered Realm. The University of Oxford did itself honour, the same year, to promote Christopher Wren, then in his twenty-ninth year, to the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, and the sister University of Cambridge did the same, by admitting the young and learned Doctor Wren to the same degree in their time-honoured Academy.

AMONG other of Wren’s accomplishments was some skill in architecture, in which art King Charles had imbibed a great love for and some taste, during his exile in France, Germany, and other Continental States. Wren was therefore sent for by the King from Oxford, to assist Sir John Denham, who held the office of Surveyor General of His Majesty’s works. Denham is better known by his poetry than for his architecture; his Cooper’s Hill proves the first, and his proposal to build the new Royal Residence at Greenwich on piles at the very brink of the river, for which he was ridiculed by Evelyn, and dissuaded from by his colleague, attests the other. Denham had been appointed to the office on reversion, after the death of Inigo Jones, by Charles I. as some remuneration for his loyalty. Charles II. confirmed the poet’s appointment,

* EVELYN’S Diary, May 17, 1663.

but dared not trust his architectivè skill, except by making Wren a Viceroy over him. The first works proposed by the King was a reparation of St. Paul's Cathedral, the restoration of Windsor Castle, and the building of a new palace at Greenwich. The King's knowledge of his best men was gained by his intimacy with the members of the philosophic club, and this knowledge led him to select Wren to design and superintend these important works ; which was accomplished by appointing him coadjutor to the distinguished author of "The Sophi," a tragedy, which was so successful, that Waller exclaimed, "Denham has broken out like the Irish rebellion, sixty thousand strong."

It was well for the peace of Europe, that Charles II. was upon better terms with his superintendents of public buildings, than was his royal relative Louis XIV. Charles suffered Denham, Evelyn and Wren to settle their minor differences of style and construction, provided they would convert the dark, melancholy and prison looking Castle of Windsor into something like the airy French-windowed apartments of Versailles, and erect his new *Pleasance* at Greenwich after the French fashion. Not so LOUIS LE GRAND, he was his own Minister, his own Commander-in-Chief, his own Architect, his own Trumpeter I was about to say, but His most Christian Majesty had too many volunteer performers on that fascinating instrument, for him to waste his sacred wind so needlessly.

THE war of 1688, so fatal to France, was occa-

sioned, says M. le Duc de St. Simon, in his interesting* memoirs, by a paltry dispute about a window, between Louis XIV. and Louvois, his Minister of war, which showed the character of the Monarch and the Minister so clearly, that he felt it to be his duty to give a correct account of so strange a cause for war.

Louvois, on the death of Colbert, was appointed Superintendent of Public Buildings. *Le petit Trianon de Porcelaine*, built originally for Madame de Montespan, displeased the King, who rejoiced in nothing but palaces, and amused himself in building them. He possessed a very correct eye, for proportion, regularity, and symmetry, but for pure taste, he possessed none. In rebuilding this palace, when it had scarcely risen above the level of the ground, the King espied a defect in the arrangement of one of the windows of the ground-floor story. Louvois, who was, by nature, surly, and so spoiled as scarcely to receive any rebuke, even from his royal master, disputed the point forcibly, and maintained that the proportions of the window were correct. The King turned upon his heel and walked away to another part of the building.

THE next day he met Andrew Le Notre, the celebrated Architect, whose taste in ornamental gardening had embellished Versailles, St. Cloud, Chantilly, the Tuilleries, Greenwich, Windsor, St. James's, etc., had been rewarded by his Sovereign with riches, knight-hood and nobility, and by the verse of the poet of gardens, Delille. The modern Alexander demanded

* Vol. I. p. 22.

of the Gallic Dinocrates, whether he had been at Trianon ? The architect replied, that he had not. The King explained how he had been offended, and desired him to see the peccant window. The next day, the same question and the same answer, and the following day, similar repetitions. The King plainly saw that Le Notre was equally afraid to discover wrong in Royalty, as to blame the powerful minister ; Louis became angry, ordered the hesitating Architect to be at Trianon on the morrow, to attend him and Louvois.

LE NOTRE could no longer parry the royal thrusts ; the King met them both, as appointed, at the new building, and his first inquiry was concerning the window. The Architect said nothing, the King commanded him to measure and try it by line and square, and say how he found it. While he was thus occupied, Louvois, incensed at the anticipated verification of the King's correctness, grumbled aloud, and angrily maintained that the window corresponded in every respect with the others. When the examination was finished, he asked Le Notre how it was ? who hesitated. The King flew into a passion, and commanded the stammering Architect to speak plainly, which he did, by avowing the King to be right, and the window defective. He had scarcely finished, when the King turned to Louvois, told him to give up his obstinacy ; that the window was all awry, and must be rebuilt, when at this time, the building should have been finished ; and rebuked him sharply.

Louvois, incensed at this sally, in the presence of

courtiers, workmen and servants, went home in a furious rage. There he found St. Fouange, Villeneuve, the Chevalier de Nogent, the two Tilladets, and other intimate friends, who were alarmed at seeing the Minister in such a state. "It is done," he exclaimed ; "I have lost the King's favour for a paltry window. I have no other remedy, than a war that will draw him away from his buildings, and render me necessary ; and, 'faith, he shall have it." In a few months this vile threat was accomplished, and, in spite of the King and other Powers, he involved his country in a general war, fatal and disgraceful to France at the end, although distinguished by many successful and gallant actions in its course ; and which, perhaps, conduced to the success of the Prince of Orange in accomplishing the glorious revolution of 1688 ; and all through a quarrel about a French window.

THE Philosophic Society continued its investigations and experiments, in all the sciences, particularly in Astronomy, in which Wren was then much occupied in elucidating his hypothesis on the planet Saturn, and in comparing it with those of Huygenius, which led to the discovery of Saturn's ring. Wren read these investigations as a lecture at Gresham College ; and the heads of the University of Oxford thought so highly of him as an astronomer, that they published, in 1662, his *Prælectiones Astronomicæ* at their Press.

WREN, Evelyn and other fit and proper persons, were this year appointed Commissioners for reforming the buildings, ways, streets and incumbrances, and for

regulating the Hackney coaches in London. That there was great necessity for their exertions is evident from the King's speech from the throne, to his Parliament, March 1, 1662, the familiarity of which resembles more an extemporaneous address to his free and easy court, than the loftier style of Royal speeches of the Georgëan and Victorian eras. "I will conclude," says the King, "with putting you in mind of the season of the year, and the convenience of your being in the country, for the good and welfare of it : for you will find much tares have been sowed there in your absence. The arrival of my wife, who I expect this month, and the necessity of my absence from town to meet her, and to stay some time before she comes hither, makes it very necessary that Parliament be adjourned before Easter, to meet again in the winter. The mention of my wife's arrival, puts me in mind to desire you to put that compliment upon her, that her entrance into the town may be with more decency than the ways will now suffer it to be : and to that purpose I pray you would quickly pass such laws as are before you, in order to the amending those ways, and that she may not find Whitehall surrounded with water."

LORD SANDWICH was sent to Portugal for the Queen, and was expected with his charge early in May. This gallant seaman was keeper of the royal wardrobe, and his housekeeper showed his secretary, Mr. Pepys, Lady Castlemaine's under-dresses, which did him good to look at ; and* assured him that the King dined and

* PEPYS'S Diary, 8vo. 1848, vol. 1, p. 356.

supped every day and night with this lady, the entire week previous to the arrival of his "wife." Poor Mr. Pepys laments how disconsolate she was after the king's departure for Portsmouth to meet the Queen, and how much it troubled him and his wife to see her look so dejectedly, and so slighted by people already. The King met his "wife" at Portsmouth, was married by the Bishop of London, and arrived with their suites at Hampton Court on the 30th May. Both Evelyn and Pepys who had good opportunities of knowing, speak of the plain features, olive complexions and tasteless dresses of the new Queen and her Portuguese maids of honour; and the *Guarda damas*, or Mother of the maids, an office then of eminence in the chaste Courts of France, Spain, Portugal and England.

HAMPTON COURT* at this time, was a noble, uniform and capacious pile, with incomparable furniture and tapestry hangings designed by Raffaele; also many rare pictures, particularly the Cæsarian triumphs by Andrea Mantegna, and other fine productions of the best masters. The Queen's bed was an embroidery of silver on crimson velvet, and cost £8000, being a present from the States of Holland to the King on his restoration. The history of this royal nuptial couch is curious and characteristic, having been formerly given by the same parties to Charles's sister, the Princess of Orange, and being purchased of her again was now presented to the King. The great looking-glass and toilette of massive gold, were presents from the Queen-

* EVELYN'S Diary, June 9, 1662.

mother of Portugal, and many fine Indian cabinets, such as had not then been seen in England, were also brought over by the Queen. The royal couple passed a short time in this pleasant retreat, and then returned to the King's more congenial palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. The King behaved so well at Hampton Court, and appeared so well pleased with his "wife," that it made Mr. Pepys fear it would* "put Madam Castlemaine's nose out of joint."

THE court pursued its gaities at Hampton, the Parliament passed the Act for uniformity of Public Worship, which produced great discontent among the Presbyterians, the people in general began already to be discontented ; some from considering themselves not used according to promise, and others from not being rewarded by the King according to their expectations.

THE Commissioners of Paving, etc. this year paved, for the first time, the road from St. James's† Palace north, now St. James's Street, which was then a quagmire, and also the Haymarket about Piccadilly, and issued printed instructions for the better cleansing the streets. The Philosophic Society still proceeded with even steps, and its charter having passed the great seal on the 15th July 1662, it was read by Mr. Oldenburg the secretary, at a meeting convened for that purpose on Wednesday, August 13, 1662. No other business was transacted at this initiatory meeting of the Royal

* PEPYS'S DIARY, May 31, 1662.

† EVELYN'S DIARY, July 31, 1662.

Society, owing to the great length of the document by which it was incorporated, except that Dr. Wren and Dr. Pope were desired to continue their observations of Jupiter's satellites.

THE society was now incorporated under the title of THE PRESIDENT, COUNCIL AND FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, for the improvement of natural knowledge by experiment*, and at its first meeting resolved, "that the President, Lord Brouncker, attended by the Council, and as many of the Fellows as could be obtained, should wait upon the King, after his coming from Hampton Court to London, to give him humble thanks for his grace and favour ; and that, in the mean time, the President should acquaint His Majesty with their intention : and that afterwards the Lord Chancellor (Hyde) be thanked likewise, as also Sir Robert Moray, for his concern and care in promoting the constitution of the Society into a Corporation."

ON the 29th August, the Court having returned to Whitehall, the President, Council and Fellows waited upon the King for the purpose before-mentioned. Lord Brouncker made a long and appropriate speech, to which His Majesty most graciously replied, and the President and Members paid the customary respects to the King. On the following day they waited on the Lord Chancellor, to whom the President made a suit-

* For copies of the charter, names of the past members, etc., see my quarto life of Wren, Sprat's History of the Royal Society, Birch's ditto, etc.

able oration, to which the noble and learned Lord made a suitable reply*.

DURING these ceremonials, Dr. Wren was occupied in examining Lord Sandwich's important documents of notes and observations, collected and made by that distinguished naval commander, during his late voyage to Portugal, the Straits and other parts of the Mediterranean sea, to compare them with others of a similar nature and to report his opinion upon them. The opinions of Wren upon almost every subject were esteemed so highly by his coadjutors, that they were continually pressing him upon great and momentary subjects. He did not confine his speculations to his study, but had a furnace frequently at work in the laboratory to test and verify his conjectures by experiments. In this manner he led the way in fumigating the rooms wherein persons sick, or labouring under contagious disorders or other close or offensive apartments, could be rendered wholesome, and communicated to the Society the mode of operation and the apparatus for cooling the atmosphere of such places by *percolation* and the action of benign chemical ingredients. This useful invention he left for execution in the able hands of his friend and colleague Robert Boyle.

THE King and Prince Rupert, often attended Wren's chemical experiments, and the latter, as a special mark of his regard, enrolled the young philosopher in the list of those distinguished friends, to

* For these speeches and replies, the inquiring reader is referred to the authorities mentioned in the preceding note.

whom he annually sent presents of his choicest wine from his estates on the Rhine. This honour is properly recorded by his original biographer in *Parentalia*.

EVELYN'S "discourse concerning Forest trees," written in consequence of questions from the Commissioners of the Royal Navy was read by him on the 15th October of this year, to a full meeting of the Royal Society ; and is memorable for the good it has done to the Nation, as well that it is the first book published by the Society after its incorporation.

THE art of delineating pictures in light and shade on plates of copper, called mezzotinto engraving, was invented or rather, discovered by Wren*, which Prince Rupert improved and communicated to Evelyn, a practised artist and a good etcher. Evelyn still further improved the mode and subsequently published it in his *History of Chalcography*. The earliest recorded specimens of this art, are the head of a Moor by Wren, and the headsman of St. John the Baptist, by Prince Rupert, who engraved R. P. f. (*Rupertus Princeps, fecit*), surmounted by an electoral coronet on the sword.

ALTHOUGH Dr. Wren had been at this time Assistant Surveyor-General, for more than two years, he had received no public employment in Architecture. In 1663, however, he was offered the appointment of Engineer at Tangier, to design and superintend the construction of the mole, harbour and fortifications of the citadel of that city, which had been given as a part

* *Parentalia*.

of the marriage portion of Catharine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal, on her marriage with King Charles II. This offer was declined by Wren, although accompanied with the promise of an ample salary, royal favours, a dispensation for not attending his various duties at home, and a reversionary grant of the office of Surveyor-General, on the death of Sir John Denham.

AMONG the King's projects was, as before mentioned, a thorough and substantial repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. Inigo Jones had, in the reign of Charles I., put the ancient choir, built*, as is supposed, by Richard, Bishop of London, in 1189, in good repair, had cased a great part of the church with Portland stone, had rebuilt the north and south fronts, and embellished the west end with that exquisitely-beautiful, but ill-applied Corinthian portico which has received so much well-deserved praise. From the length of time since these repairs and additions, and from the damage it has sustained from the puritans and fanatics during the Commonwealth, the Metropolitan Cathedral was in a disgraceful state; Wren was therefore appointed by commission, under the great seal, in 1663, to survey and report upon its condition, and on the best mode of repairing the damaged and decayed edifice.

DR. SPRAT† wrote to his friend Wren, from Oxford, concerning these honourable and useful employments,

* DUGDALE'S *Old St. Paul's*, p. 146.

† *Parentalia*, p. 260, and my *Life of Wren*, p. 111.

telling him that the Vice-Chancellor had enquired where the Professor of Astronomy was, and the reason of his absence so long after the beginning of the term ? Sprat tells him he used all the arguments he could in his friend's defence. He told the Reverend authority that Charles the second was King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland ; that he was, by the last Act of Parliament, declared absolute Monarch in these his dominions ; and that it was this mighty Prince who had confined Wren to London. He endeavoured to persuade the Vice-Chancellor that the drawing of lines in *Sir Henry Savile's school, was not altogether of so great a concernment for the benefit of Christendom, as the rebuilding of St. Paul's, or the fortifying of Tangier.

ANOTHER letter from Sprat, the friend and biographer of Cowley, whose Pindaric flights he followed sufficiently well to obtain the praise of Dr. Johnson, was written to his friend *Kit Wren*, as he familiarly calls him. Although it is inserted at full length in my biography of the architect, a few extracts must suffice in this more discursive essay, to show the terms on which these eminent men lived in private, and the nature of their occasional relaxations.

It appears, from this letter, that Wren and Sprat went, on a recent occasion, to walk in St. James's Park, the rendezvous of the wits and fashionables of the day,

* Mathematical and Greek preceptor to Queen Elizabeth, and founder of the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy, then held by Wren.

in the hope of meeting “the incomparable* person” whom, although they met not, was enough present in their thoughts to bring them to discourse of that in which he so much excelled, “the wit of conversation.” This confabulation is recapitulated in the letter, from which this accomplished Divine draws a conclusion, that the wit of discourse is as different, among the several parts of mankind, as the temper of their air and constitution of their bodies ; and, therefore, divides his proposition into two parts, *general* and *particular*. The *general*, he defines as that which consists of terms, similitudes and humours, and are received by many nations. It prevails, either by conquest, such as caused the Roman language and wit to be established in all the countries wherein they sowed civilization by their victories ; or, by the situation, authority and commanding genius of one people over another. Thus, the Greeks became teachers of the art of conversation to the ancients ; and the French, of late, to the moderns.

OF this general wit, he points out manifest differences. That of the CHINESE, he says, consists in the skill of writing several characters, that of the EGYPTIANS in giving things, instead of words, for similitudes ; as, for instance, a lion for courage, the sun, moon and stars, for a thousand conceptions. This latter sort, he considers to be a strange kind of laborious expression

* Probably, Sir William Petty, whose powers and wit in conversation, Evelyn so graphically describes in his diary ; which is confirmed by Pepys.

of their minds, which, if the Orators of our times should use in their luxuriancy of metaphors, they would stand in need of Noah's Ark to carry about with them any one of their orations. The eastern wit of all ages, he considers, as being principally made up of lofty and swelling comparisons, as exemplified in the titles of the Sophi, and the Grand Seigneur, which, he doubts not, are some of their noblest fancies, yet, to his understanding, they required the assistance of Mahomet's dove to make sense of them.

MOORISH wit he considered to have been similar to the Spanish of his time ; that of the Italian, French, English, Dutch, **if they have any*, to be somewhat alike, according to their common origin, the Latin. Of the Muscovitish or Tartarian wit, he can give but little account ; but he assures his friend " Kit Wren," that even the Irish had a wit of their own, though he would hardly believe it till some of their friends went thither. Nay, to say more to their advantage, they had this, peculiar to themselves, that almost all their whole nation was, at the same time, both poets and saints.

THE *particular* wit he describes to be that which arises from the frequent meetings of private assemblies, and this he considers to be capable of infinite divisions ; for there is hardly the least company in the world that meet together but has its common sayings, figures,

* This reservation of Dr. Sprat's is not unlike that of his witty contemporary, Father Bouhours, who raised the question, whether it be possible for a German to be a wit ?

characters and observations, which are great raillery in their proper circle, but tasteless to strangers. This fact, he says, is evident in several shires of England, and instances as a proof, that when he was in the north of England there was a buffoon that was a dreadful droll among the Yorkshire gentlemen, and yet scarcely spoke a grain of salt to our southern tastes.

PARTICULAR wit, he continues, likewise appears in several professions of men. The lawyers will laugh at those jests in the Temple which, it may be, will not move them at Charing Cross ; and he considered it likely that “ *Tom Killegrew** ” himself would not seem good company to a table of benchers. The wit beyond Fleet Bridge, (that is, in the city,) has another colour from that on this side. The very watermen on the Bankside have their quips and their repartees, which are not intelligible but upon the Thames. But, to say no more, this species of wit is to be found in every private family ; and he had almost gone so far as to say that there is scarcely a husband and wife in the world but have a particular way of wit among themselves ; but he would not affirm it, because his evil age believed that few married persons are wont to delight so much in one another’s company as to be merry and witty alone. This latter thought, though

* Who, that is acquainted with the History of the English Stuarts, has not read of the loyal, witty and talented brothers, Will, *Tom* and Harry Killegrew ? The second, who was the companion of Charles II. in exile, and his free associate and familiar friend after his restoration, is the one here alluded to.

intended as a joke by the exemplary Divine, speaks volumes as to the character of the dissolute age of the Restoration.

HAVING thus discovered the mighty Proteus, which puts on so many various shapes, in various places, and on various occasions, he proposes to define it. The wit of discourse is, he informs his friend, the greatest art about the smallest things ; for, to confess a secret, as Sir William Davenant's way differs very little from *Frank Bowman's, and yet one is the gayest, and the other the most insipid ; so the true pleasant talk and the vainest tattle are not very different. The subjects of both are a thousand little trifles, and the difference lies only in the management. This wit, therefore, is made up of many inexpressible excellences, it must have a general evenness of humour, it must perfectly observe all the rules of decency, to know when enough is said ; to forbear biting things, not to be touched, and to abstain from abusing honest and virtuous matters. It must apply itself to the condition and inclination of the company, and rather follow than lead ; it must not always strain to speak extraordinary things, for that is a constant dancing on the ropes, in which, though a man does often well, he may have one fall that may break his neck. It must allow every one their turn in speaking, for it is natural to all to love better the company of those which gives them occa-

* Perhaps the Mr. Bowman mentioned by Pepys (April 20, 1661), through whose favour he gained admittance to the Cockpit Theatre, and saw the King, and the Duke and Duchess of York.

sions of speaking well, than those that do it themselves ; it must mingle stories with arguments, pleasant things with solemn ; it must vary the subject and not pump itself dry at once. He then quotes Cowley in some verses which Wren had not seen, to show that the latter is a wise quality. The verses quoted, say—

So the imperial eagle does not stay,
Till the whole carcass he devour
That's fallen into his power ;
As if his generous hunger understood,
That it can never want supply of food,
He only sucks the tasteful blood,
And to fresh game flies cheerfully away,
To kites and meaner birds he leaves the mangled prey.

To this poetical illustration of the preceding axiom, Sprat goes on to argue, that this generous eagle-wit uses the best and easiest words, is not the first to take up new ones, nor the last to lay down old ones. But, above all, its chief dominion is in forming new significations and images of things and persons. This, he conceives, may be so suddenly practised, that he has known, in one afternoon, new stamps and proverbs, and fashions of speech raised, which were never thought of before, and yet gave occasion to most delightful imaginations. He next draws Wren's attention to the extent and difficulty of this art, and confesses that it is seldom to be found among men of large and full and high thoughts, because such minds overlook the little passages, and fly presently to general axioms, which, it may be, are most useful, yet they do not affect our thoughts with such an immediate and familiar delight.

BUT the learned and metaphysical Divine, hints to his friend the mathematical and experimental Philosopher, that to speak truth, the perfection of this glorious faculty, without which life were no life, belongs not so much to men as to the softer sex ; for they have usually their heads less disturbed with busy thoughts, their minds are quicker and readier for new impressions, they talk more of circumstantial things, they sit longer together, and, which Wren used to say was of great consequence in our northern and phlegmatic climate, they keep their feet warmer and drier, and go less into the moist and open air. That women are the best speakers, he offers Wren two undeniable instances, one in his Laura, as he thinks his friend calls her, and the other, the nymph who was once his Clelia. “The one,” says the deserted Doctor, “speaks with a great freedom and spirit, and with an abundance of sweet words ; the other talks less, but with as much sweetness and nature : from the one, nothing can be taken away, to the other nothing ought to be added.”

BUT the Doctor dared not proceed in this description, through remembrance of an old story ; that while a painter was drawing from a most beautiful lady, he fell desperately in love with her, and it had cost him his life, had not Alexander bestowed her on him. The first part of this tale, the reverend Divine felt sure would be his fortune, if he should longer employ his thoughts on such a lovely object ; and he was as certain that he should perish long enough before he should find an Alexander to pity him ! It is a question

worthy the attention of the oracular Editors of “*Notes and Queries*,” whether this is not a parable wherein the Doctor depicts himself as the modern Apelles, imbibing draughts of love from Clelia—Campaspe’s eyes, and the *congé d’elire*—bestowing Monarch of the Restoration, who had no pity for the dying lover of his beauteous concubine ? The subsequent Lord Bishop of Rochester’s apology, might be “*Homo sum*,” but the quotation is too trite to need completion.

To return, however, to Sprat’s definition or description of this fugitive, evaporative, spiritual essence of the human mind. WIT, he considers, consists in a right ordering of things and words for delight ; but fearing to bore his friend, he drops the argument, and sends him news of the state of society.

THE following passage shows in a lively manner the occupation of the men about town, in the rampant time of the beginning of the Restoration. He tells Wren, “now I look about me, what need have I to go any farther ? seeing the age wherein we live runs already so mad after the affairs of wit. All the world are at present Poets ; the poetical bees are all at work, comedies, tragedies, verses, satires, burlesques ; songs buzz every where about our ears ; and, to ease my hand a little by changing my pace—

Wits we have now as many, if not more,
As we had sects or preachers heretofore ;
And Heaven, in mercy grant, this crying sin,
Don’t the same judgments once more usher in.
We have our northern wits, wits of the east,
Wits of the south, and witlings of the west ;

South and by west, south east, east and by north,
 From every point, like winds, they bluster forth.
 We have our wits that write only to sway
 At York, or Hull, or ten miles thence each way.
 Each corporation, sea-port, borough, town,
 Has those that will this glorious title own.
 Like Egypt's frogs they swarm, and like them too,
 Into the chambers of our Kings they go.

SPRAT seems to have no better opinion of the "witlings of the west," than Dr. Johnson, who, on being asked by Sir Joshua Reynolds at the club on his return from Devonshire, how he liked his countrymen, the Plymptonians? replied, "to say the truth, Sir Joshua, the farther I went west, the more I felt convinced, that the wise men came originally from the east."

"WHAT is to be done with this furious generation of wits and writers?" asks the Reverend Doctor of his philosophic friend. "To advise them to leave off is vain—

Too strong the infection is
 To be destroyed by such quick remedies.
 No, no, it is a sweet and flattering kind
 Of poison, and deceives the clearest mind :
 Cowley himself, Cowley, whom I adore,
 Often resolved, nay, and I think he swore,
 That he no more those barren lands would plough,
 Where flowery weeds instead of corn do grow.
 Perchance, as Jesuits' Powder does, each vow
 Kept the fit off from him, three weeks or so,
 But yet, at last, his vows were all in vain,
 This writing ague still returns again."

MR. D'ISRAELI, in discussing the distinction between the poetical and the mathematical genius, opposes the

view entertained by some writers, that a man of genius possessing a general capacity, may become whatever he chooses, but is determined by his first acquired habit to be what he is*, quotes a Scotch metaphysician as having recently declared that “Locke or Newton might have been as eminent poets as Homer or Milton, had they given themselves early to the study of poetry;” and believes that had these distinguished philosophers obstinately against nature, persisted in the attempt, the world have lost two great philosophers and have obtained two supernumerary poets. Whatever may have been the predisposition of Wren’s genius, it appears that at the time of his intimacy with Sprat he paid court to the gentle Muses, as well as to Minerva *operosa*, that he sought the lofty regions of Apollo, as well as the dusky caverns of Vulcanus, and the fairer workshops of Dædalus.

IN a correspondence between these friends, Wren maintained that Horace cannot well be translated; to which the Divine replies, that he takes leave to dissent, for by the elegant translations of the epistle *AD LOLLIUM*, which he had sent him, he confuted himself. “You have well hit his genius,” he writes, “your verse is numerous, your philosophy very instructive for life, your liberality in translation enough to make it seem to be an English original, and yet not so much but that the mind of the author is still religiously observed. So that if you have not adorned the fat droll, as you pleasantly call

* THE LITERARY CHARACTER, or the History of Men of Genius,”
by I. D’ISRAELI, D.C.L., F.S.A. Lon. 1839, 8vo. 3rd Ed. p. 26.

him, with feathers, yet you have with jewels, which is a more stately, though not so flaunting a bravery. Most other attempts on him, nay those of Ben Johnson himself, appear to me to have been very unfortunate, and his translators have seemed, not so much to have remembered that he was a friend to Augustus, as that he was *libertino patre natus*, so rudely and so clownishly have they rendered him." Such praise, from such a scholar, critic and poet as Sprat, the friend, adorer and biographer of Cowley, is strong evidence of Wren's poetic power. But to borrow a phrase from the distinguished collector of curiosities of literature, had these eminent men cultivated solely their poetical powers, the Royal Society would have lost a correct and eloquent Historian, and London a great Architect.

FROM this correspondence, it appears that Wren perfectly agreed with Sprat in approving this poet above others. "For ever since," he says, "I have had the good fortune to read him otherwise than as a school-boy, I have always respected him as one of the most accomplished men of that incomparable age. He was almost the first writer that brought poetry from the fables of their ridiculous religion, and from flattering women's beauties, to speak of human affairs, and to show mankind to themselves. The decency of his order and invention is admirable ; all things so justly and admirably said, that even the hypercritical Matt. Clifford himself cannot find one word in him whereon to use his sponge. So natural he is, that every fancy seems to flow into his pen, without any contention

of brain, and yet he was the slowest and severest of his time ; the wit which he shows is just enough for the subjects he undertakes, and no more. This I esteem one of the surest and noblest of perfections that belong to a liberal pen ; and I like very well what Jack Birkenhead has somewhere said—"that a great Wit's great work is to refuse." Moderation of fancy is a thing most commendable, and most difficult ; it being hard for men of hot and violent minds, such as commonly most great writers have, to stop themselves in full speed, and to understand when they have done enough."

IN reference to complaints made against his favourite Roman poet, of his many downright and proverbial sentences, and for his roughness of style, he says if Horace's plain morals are not wit in modern times, they were in his age ; and all that the much-applauded Greeks have left, are only a few such sayings, of which we meet so many hundred in Horace. As to his style, he says, if there be any unevenness in it, it is only such as that of his own Rome, to which its hilly site was advantageous. Nor are all things that are smooth worthy of praise, for then, he says, Quarles might be put in competition with Cowley ; and if to be oiled were to be harmonious, he knows not why a coach wheel or a roasting-jack, might not make good music. The poetical Doctor at Oxford then commends himself to his poetico-mathematico friend in London and to his useful labours.

WREN's operations at this time, were taking accurate

plans and sections of the dilapidated metropolitan Cathedral, investigating their causes, and suggesting remedies for their reinstatement. Following his predecessor's ideas, he proposed to add an Italian cupola instead of the ruined tower, and to make other parts assimilate with Inigo Jones's Corinthian portico, and by degrees to convert it into a Protestant Metropolitan Cathedral, in the Roman style of Church Architecture. The report as laid before the King and the commission is given at length in my *Memoirs of Wren**.

WREN may now be considered to have taken up Architecture as a profession, having been commissioned by the University of Oxford to make a design for a building in which the public acts of the University should be celebrated, instead of in St. Mary's Church, and no longer desecrate a building set apart for the worship of God by secular practices. This was Wren's first building, and its construction shows the boldness of his mathematical skill. On the 29th April 1663, he submitted his model of the intended building to the Royal Society, by whom it was much commended, and his design and description was ordered to be entered among the approved transactions of the Society. This building, known as the Sheldonian Theatre, was erected at the sole charge of the learned, pious and liberal Archbishop whose name it bears. He not only erected this theatre, and the printing house, but left an endowment for its annual reparation, and expended, from the

* Pages 125, 130.

time of his being created Bishop of London, to his death as Archbishop of Canterbury, a period of about sixteen years, as his account books show, upon public, pious and charitable purposes, above sixty-six thousand pounds.

JOHN EVELYN informs us in his diary, that Sir Christopher Wren informed him it cost five and twenty thousand pounds. He was also informed by the Archbishop that he never did nor ever would see it. The Architect was highly praised for this work by the most worthy of his cotemporaries, and by an elegant Pindaric Ode in Latin, on the Sheldonian Theatre and its Architect, which is given at length in Parentalia, and my Memoirs. This building was opened on the 9th July 1669, by celebrating the Act of the University, and other ceremonies, which are fully and graphically described by Evelyn, who was present at this dedication of the Oxford Temple of the Muses, in his diary under this date. The sedate Evelyn did not like the wit of Dr. South, the public Orator of the University, although he admits his oration to be elegant, "very long, and not without some malicious reflections on the Royal Society; the rest was in praise of the Archbishop and the ingenious Architect." Among these reflections is the following bitter sarcasm, "*mirantur nihil nisi pulices, pediculosos—et se ipsos*," they admire nothing but fleas, lice—and themselves. This joke from a Bishop, who said*, that it pleased God to make him a wit, however pointed, had been shot

* In his controversy with Dr. William Sherlock on the Trinity.

twenty years before by Harrington*, against the same men, and the same pursuits.

WREN'S fame spread from London and Oxford to Cambridge, where he built the new chapel of Pembroke College, at the sole charge of Bishop Wren, his uncle. Nor did these employments separate him from his philosophical pursuits; for in the survey of the zodiac, which was began by the Royal Society, in this year, the sign Taurus was assigned to him and Dr. Hooke.

THE KING, in order to show the nation that he was not totally ruled by his "*roués et maitresses*," proposed to visit His Royal Society this year, and great were the exertions of the President and Fellows to give their Royal Patron a suitable reception. Wren was written to at Oxford, to lend his aid. To this application, he replied in a long letter† to Lord Brouncker the President, pointing out some experiments to be shown and what to be avoided, for the solemnity of the occasion and for the honour of the Society. "It is not every year," he writes, "that will produce such a master-experiment as the Torricellian," fears that many, although of high value in themselves might appear too jejune for this purpose, in which he thinks there ought to be somewhat of pomp to please the Royal taste. On the other side, he advises his noble friend to eschew "knacks and things that raise wonder, such as

* See Page 39.

† Dated Oxford, July 30, 1663.

Father KIRCHER, SCHOLTUS, and even jugglers abound with, as scarcely becoming the gravity of the occasion."

IN this manner did the versatile actor, CHARLES the second, personate the character of the King of England, by the grace of a grateful people's Restoration. Let us, however, drop the curtain, dismiss the gratified, perhaps gulled audience, accompany the actors and actresses to their green-room ; see the King lay down his diadem, doff his robes, kiss and say farewell to his Queen of a day, and retire with some of the trulls, who bore her hassock and her train, and the low-bred jesters, who enacted the courtiers for pence, to a carousal in the garret of the fairest and most impudent of the actresses.

METAPHOR apart, the Court of Charles II., at the very time when the elect of the age were preparing to entertain their Monarch, as a patron of art, science and literature, was scarcely more real than the Court of King Arthur, in O'Hara's inimitable burlesque-tragedy of Tom Thumb.

In the second year of the "happy Restoration," Philibert Comte de Grammont, who had the presumption to make love to a favourite of Louis XIV. came to England, and possessing similar tastes, was highly distinguished by King Charles II. At the same time M. le Comte de Comminges, a friend of de Grammont and of his brother exile, the Epicurean St. Evremond, came also to England as Ambassador from the King of France to his royal Cousin of England. This nobleman, as in duty bound, communicated with his august

master, and to his minister for foreign affairs, M. le Marquis de Lionne, the state of things, in the restored court of Whitehall. Some of these letters were copied from the originals, in the "Bibliothèque du Roi," at Paris, by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, F.S.A., and published, with his permission, and for the first time, by Lord Braybrooke, in the Appendix to the third edition of Pepys's Diary.

By a singular coincidence, the exiled favourite, and the favoured ambassador met together at Calais, as related by the latter to the French minister at Paris ; wherein he says, you would never have thought that the follies of the Chevalier de Grammont, could have ever advanced the King's affairs. Nevertheless it is true that without his arrival at this port, I should have been detained by the weather being too foul to enable me to embark in the packet-boat ; so he left Calais with his disgraced friend, in the Duke of York's yacht, which conveyed them to London. He informs the King, that Sir Henry Bennett, who had a few months before, been made Secretary of State, stood well with his master, which created jealousy in the Chancellor's cabal ; and that there was nothing talked of at the English Court, but of the magnificent diamond which the King of France had presented to Lord Gerard*, which their Britannic Majesties, he says, valued at six thousand crowns.

He then informs his colleague at Paris, that M. de

* Afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, he was Colonel of the Life-Guards, and had recently married a French lady.

Grammont had arrived at the English Court, where he was most graciously received ; was at all the King's parties, and quite at home at Lady Castlemaine's. He next relates a quarrel between Lady Castlemaine and Lady Gerard, who had informed the Queen of matters derogatory to her character, and which led the King, who took the part of Lady Castlemaine, to forbid the Queen's friend from appearing at Court. This female squabble and its disgraceful cause is fully and graphically detailed in Pepys's Diary of this date.

BEFORE the Compte de Comminges had been in London many weeks, he was waited on by many distinguished Irish officers who proffered their services to him. He describes them as much attached to France and inimical to Spain ; in fact, on the look out for a master, and weary of the tyranny which had been exercised by all parties upon their nation. His house was to be opened the following day with a grand dinner, to which the King and the Duke of York proposed to honour him with their presence*, not that he had invited the King, but his Majesty desired to be of the party of all the illustrious debauchees of the kingdom. In a letter to the King he describes the intrigues of the court, the desire of Charles to reconcile the two political parties, by marrying the eldest son of the Chancellor with a daughter of the Earl of Bristol ; mentions rumours of causes which had retarded his

* " Le Roi et M. le Duc d'York me feront l'honneur de diner : ce n'est pas que j'aye prié sa Majesté ; mais il a voulu être de la partie de tous les illustres desbauchez du royaume."

public entry, as Ambassador from the great King. During this seclusion the Chevalier de Grammont and the Sieur de St. Evremont came to visit him, like good Frenchmen, zealous for the honour and glory of his Majesty. He assures the King that he will serve them both as he may think fit, and if they will do their duty, as he is persuaded they will, he hopes that his Majesty will hear them named, and permit them, should their services deserve it, to be forgiven, after a penitence conformable to their fault. This may show in what capacity these illustrious debauchees worked out their claims for pardon, in their nominal exile.

THE avidity with which Louis XIV. swallowed every species of flattery, has been already mentioned ; and M. de Comminges was too good a Frenchman not to contribute his share, which he does in a letter dated April 2, 1663. In this brief epistle he tells his Royal Master, that the arts and sciences sometimes abandon one country to honour another. At the present time, he informs the King, they had settled in France ; and if there were any vestiges of them in England, it is only in the memorials of Bacon, More, Buchanan and, in later times, of *one Milton*, who is rendered more infamous by his dangerous writings, than the butchers and assassins of their King ! He also describes a drunken fray at Lord Oxford's, where the illustrious debauchees pulled off one another's wigs, fought with swords, till separated by General Monk, which is also noticed by Pepys, in his Diary, with becoming indignation. In other letters he informs the King of the ex-

pected confinement of the Duchess of York, of the health of the Queen-mother, and of a great quarrel among the ladies of the Court ; so high did it run, that his Britannic Majesty threatened Lady Castlemaine, that he would never set foot within her doors, if the pretty Miss Stuart was not of the party. In another, he relates the illness of the Queen and the sorrow of the King, who wept over her sufferings, yet supped every night with Lady Castlemaine, enjoying the lively conversation of the handsome Miss Stuart. Of this disgraceful conduct, Pepys makes many strong remarks ; but admits that she surpassed all the Court beauties*, “ with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eyes, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw.”

IN his letter of November 5, 1663, he informs the King of the arrival of M. de Catteu in London, and that he lost no time in presenting him to the King of England at Whitehall. Charles received the French Ambassador and his friend, with great satisfaction to the Envoy, and would have introduced them immediately to the Queen, although so seriously ill, but she was asleep, and the introduction was postponed till the next day. They returned at the appointed hour, and the King introduced them to the Queen's bed-side, and took the pains, he writes to Louis XIV. “ to make the compliments of your Majesty and of the Queen, with great difficulty, as the fever had left her so very deaf, that he was obliged to bawl the compliments of

* Diary, July 14, 1663.

the great Monarch into her Majesty's ears." The poor Queen, who was obliged, by the rigid ceremony of the French Court, although but slowly recovering from a dangerous fever, to give audience in bed to Louis's Ambassador, received his complimentary message, he says, with great satisfaction, and replied to it in a few words, but very intelligible. From this moment, writes the Envoy, she began to mend, and it appeared to him, that the care which his gracious master had taken in sending this message had contributed more to her Majesty's recovery than all her physicians !

THE Count was invited to the Lord Mayor's show and dinner, where not being received with all the honours, which he thought due to his rank, he took himself off in dudgeon, and wrote to his royal master an account of the indignity offered to his representative, and at the ample reparation he required and received. Pepys was also there, and relates*, " that after the Lords had half dined, the French Ambassador came up to their table, where he was to have sat ; but he would not sit down nor dine with the Lord Mayor, who had not arrived, nor have a table to himself, which was offered to him, but went away in great discontent."

PEPYS describes this dinner as being defrayed, half by the Lord Mayor and half by the two Sheriffs, and reckoned to cost, he says, from seven hundred to eight hundred pounds. Before dinner, he and two City friends and " Lieutenant-Colonel Baron, a City commander," went up and down Guildhall to see the

* Diary, October 29 (November 9, N. S.), 1663.

tables, but none of them, except that for the Lord Mayor and for the Lords of the Privy Council, had table-cloths or knives, which he thought very strange. Before the arrival of the Lord Mayor, the Chancellor, the Archbishop before him, the Lords of the Privy Council and the Bishops, left the room into which they were first conducted, and began dinner about one o'clock, in the manner which offended the Compte de Comminges. He says, there were ten good dishes to a mess, and plenty of wine of all sorts ; but he found it very unpleasant that they had no napkins (table-cloths), nor change of trenchers ; he had before complained of having no knives, and to drink out of earthen pitchers and wooden cups. He expected music, but there were none but trumpets and drums, which displeased him. At length, "being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, he went away, took coach and saw the pageants in Cheapside, which were very silly."

M. DE COMMINGES informs his Sovereign, that the master of the ceremonies called upon him at eight o'clock in the forenoon of Lord Mayor's day, and took him, first to see the show by water, and then to a room prepared for him in the principal street, when, after seeing the cavalcade pass, he entered his coach and drove round by the back streets to get a-head of the procession. He, by these means, reached Guildhall half-an-hour before the Lord Mayor ; and was there received with all possible respect, the officers saluting him with their pikes and colours when he descended

from his coach. He was then received by other citizens, who placed him under the care of others, and so on, from place to place, till they conducted him into the dinner-hall, where he found the Chancellor and Privy Councillors already at dinner. He was surprised at this gross incivility ; but to avoid making a scene, he determined to give these gentlemen an opportunity of repairing their fault, if it proceeded from ignorance or mistake, or to evade their malice, if such was intended, by an open and bold face. He therefore walked up to them, with the intention, as he informs the King, of rallying them upon their good appetites ; but he found them so cold and so forbidding that he thought fit to retire. He complains that neither the Chancellor nor his companions at table rose to receive him, and that Bennet*, who behaved with great reserve, said something, to which he replied disdainfully, and retired. The Master of the ceremonies, who had accompanied the Ambassador, spoke to the Chancellor on the subject, but they saw him depart, he says, without pain, or offering him any excuses or civilities.

THE French† window at *la petite Trianon de porcelaine*, scarcely gave the French minister Louvois greater cause of anger and of a devastating war, than did the Lord Mayor's dinner of 1663, to M. de Comminges.

THE offended Ambassador returned home to dinner,

* Sir Henry Bennet, Secretary of State, who at this time had great influence with Charles II.

† See page 147.

when, in about two hours afterwards, the two Sheriffs*, who had invited him, accompanied by several citizens, waited on him, leaving their retinue at his door. They were ordered by the Lord Mayor and Corporation to apologize for what had happened, excusing it as having arisen from being taken by surprise.

THE devoted Eustace de St. Pierre and his five fellow citizens of Calais, waiting their fate with halters round their necks, before the exasperated Edward III. scarcely trembled more than did the two Sheriffs and four citizens of London before the angered representative of the Majesty of Louis XIV. He magnanimously told them that their reasons weighed nothing in his estimation ; for having been solicited by them, they ought not to have doubted his coming, particularly as he had promised to do so. In fact that their ignorance and their want of capacity to receive persons of his quality was the sole cause. In conclusion, after many humble excuses and sharp rejoinders, the insulted Ambassador of France told them the affair was too public, and had occurred in the presence of too many witnesses to be lightly passed over ; and that his duty to himself and his country compelled to report the transaction in full to his royal master. After this, he accompanied the penitent citizens out of his saloon, and to make them more ashamed as he states in his despatch, he stopped them for a moment, and told

* Sir Richard Ford and Sir Richard Reeves.

† Sir Anthony Bateman.

them he would repay such evil treatment by great civility.

THE next morning, he was informed that the Lord Mayor was in attendance, soliciting an audience. His civic Lordship was accompanied by ten or a dozen carriages and a crowd of people who followed out of curiosity. "He entered my house," says the gratified minister to his master, "with all the emblems of his dignity ; that is to say, the sword and mace carried by city officers, the train of his robe borne by another, the two Sheriffs the Aldermen and many honourable citizens. He waited for a short time in my lower hall, perhaps with a view that I should go to him ; but one of my secretaries having said, there was a fire in the upper hall, and that I had not finished dressing, having been all the morning employed in writing despatches, he came up stairs. As soon as I learned that he was shewn into my audience chamber, I received him, but would listen to nothing till he was seated. At first he expressed his great regret that he could not address me in French, but he had brought with him an interpreter to explain what he wished to say.

"THIS explanation consisted of two points ; the first was, that I would excuse and pardon the error which he had committed, the other that I would favour them with an opportunity of reparation ; and that on my answer depended, the exoneration or the eternal shame of the City of London ; and that they would neither be forgiven by the King or by the people, unless

I set the example." The wrath of the ambassador was appeased, and he closed his despatches with assuring his King, that his glory had suffered no diminution, not a ray of the Gallic* sun had been shorn, for he conducted the Lord Mayor to his state coach, giving him the door, but always keeping on the right hand. The whole past, he says, with satisfaction on all sides.

From the City, the French ambassador returned, in his despatches, to the Court. He tells the great Louis, that the Chevalier de Grammont is ravished at the news he has just communicated to him, and said, that he would rather serve your Majesty a thousand times for nothing, than all the Kings of the earth for all their treasures ! He is preparing to take his leave of the King of Great Britain, to whom he is, doubtlessly, under great obligations for the gracious manner in which he has been received. In the excess of his joy, he could not conceal from the penetration of the Ambassador his surprise, which convinced him that the business was concluded, and that he had made a great sacrifice to His Majesty on leaving his new and legitimate loves ; for I believe, he informs the jealous Louis, that he will soon console himself with a fair† Englishwoman, to whom he purposes showing the Court of France. Shortly afterwards he informs the King that de Grammont would have left England the preceeding day, but that His Britannic Majesty de-

* Louis XIV. assumed the sun for his device, with the vaunting motto, "Nec pluribus impar."

† Miss Hamilton.

tained him, perhaps, as he thinks, either to make him some present, or to facilitate the payment of eight hundred pieces, which were owing to him by Lady Castlemaine. He had also other similar debts, for de Grammont was usually fortunate at play, which he told the ambassador would come in when he should declare the affair of Miss Hamilton, but says de Comminges to his great master, he will make a general confession to your Majesty.

GEORGE DIGBY, second Earl of Bristol, who in the early part of the Restoration wrote and published a series of letters to his cousin, Sir Kenelm Digby, against Popery, is another personage of this period whom the French Ambassador thought worthy the notice of the great monarch. He informs the most Christian King, of Lord Bristol's conversion to the true faith, on the Easter eve preceding his despatch of February 22, 1663, and on the 4th February 1664, writes, that on Sunday last the Earl of Bristol presented himself in the parish church of Wimbledon*, with a notary and witnesses, and declared before all the people that he was a Protestant, and renounced with all his heart the Roman Catholic faith. After which he took the minister and some of the chief men of the congregation home with him to dinner, and in the afternoon returned to London on horseback, accompanied by four cavaliers. This act was, in the opinion

* Wimbledon house and manor, of which Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I. regained possession at the restoration, and in 1661, alienated them to George, Earl of Bristol. Lyson's Environs.

of M. de Comminges, both rash and insolent, and although every one blamed it, no one took the trouble to punish it.

HORACE WALPOLE describes this Earl of Bristol as "a singular person, whose life was all contradiction: he wrote against Popery and embraced it; he was a zealous opposed of the Court, and a sacrifice to it; he was conscientiously converted in the midst of the prosecution of Lord Stratford, and was most unconscientiously a persecutor of Lord Clarendon. With great parts, he always hurt himself and his friends; with romantic bravery, he was always an unsuccessful commander. He spoke for the test act, although a Roman Catholic, and addicted himself to Astrology, on the birthday of true Philosophy."

IN this year Sir William Petty invented and built a ship at Dublin with two keels, a model of which he constructed for the King, and deposited afterwards in the museum of Gresham College. He also built another at Rotherhithe, which was launched December 22, 1661, the King and the Duke of York being present. Sir William encountered much jeering and laughter for his innovations in naval architecture. The Comte de Comminges, in a despatch to Louis XIV. writes, that the Irish ship which had made so much noise, and was to serve as a model for all future ships, had, after three months' sailing, arrived at Woolwich; and describes it as the most ridiculous and useless machine that the mind of man could have conceived. The physician who invented it, he tells the King, has

returned to his first occupation, and left ship-building to the carpenters.

AMONG Sir Hans Sloane's manuscripts in the British Museum there is an English satirical poem on this vessel, entitled "*In laudem Navis Geminæ e portu Dublinii ad Regem Carolum secundum missæ.*" It is three hundred lines in length, "too long, too scurrilous and too worthless," says the noble editor of Pepys's Diary, to print. The King, too, must have his laugh, for on the 1st February 1664, Mr. Pepys* went to Whitehall, where, in the Duke of York's chamber, the King came and stayed an hour or two, laughing at Sir William Petty, who was there, about his boat, and at the Royal Society, for spending time in weighing air. "At which," says Pepys, "poor Petty was, I perceived, at some loss; but he argued discreetly, and bore the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and of other bystanders with great discretion. He offered to take odds against the King's best boats, but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only.

YET, with all this royal, diplomatic and poetic raillery, the calumniated ship won a wager of £50, in sailing from Dublin to Holyhead, against the packet-boat, reckoned to have been the best ship in the King's service, which success led its inventor to back her against any vessel in the world. Mr. Pepys, who was at that time, and in the succeeding reign, Secretary to the Admiralty, and well acquainted with shipping,

* Diary of this date.

describes* this novel ship as about thirty tons burden, carrying thirty men, with good accommodation, and able, from the peculiarity of her build, to carry more men, with better accommodation by half, than any other ship of the same burden. She carried ten guns, of about five tons weight. In returning from Holyhead the rival craft started together, Petty's reached Dublin at five o'clock in the afternoon, and the packet-boat not before eight the next morning. After this decisive victory, Sir William affirmed in a letter, quoted by Mr. Pepys, that the perfection of sailing lay in his principle, find it out who can. Mr. Lodge, in his *Peerage of Ireland*†, says, "Sir William Petty, in 1663, raised his reputation still higher by the success of his double-bottomed ship, against the judgment of all mankind. Thomas, Earl of Ossory, and other persons of distinction, embarked on board this ship, which promised to excel all others in sailing, carriage, and security; but she was at last lost in a dreadful tempest, which overwhelmed a great fleet the same night." This ship was launched in the King's presence, and named by him "The Experiment."

THE French Ambassador's letters to his Sovereign depict the profligacy of restored royalty in the British court in vivid colours. A few extracts may suffice in this place. On the 24th May, 1664, he writes, the calashes began to see the day, and the Queen, with all her suite, often rode out on horseback. The ladies appear to

* Diary, July 31, 1663.

† Vol. ii. p. 352.

envy each other, but that produces no sort of jealousy. He declares that he never saw two rivals live in such good understanding ; not that they agree too well, and take too much care to conceal their slips, but it is the humour of the country, which has no real jealousy, but against France. The Chevalier de Grammont he reports to be at his last gasp, having lost at two sittings eighteen hundred pieces, not actually ready money, but his lady wife will have to pay it by instalments, which will furnish her with domestic business during the Chevalier's absence. He knows not whether these losses will retard his journey, but that a gamester does not withdraw immediately on his ill luck. Malicious people, he says, think otherwise, and say that he fears to leave his wife, on account of a handsome cousin, a son of the Duke of Ormond, who, under the pretext of relationship, pays her most assiduous visits, not only since, but before her marriage. Then again he writes that the Countess de Grammont was brought to bed of a son, handsome as his mother and gallant as his father. The whole Court congratulated the Count, as did the Ambassador, who found him looking young again, but he thinks it is the hope of returning soon to France that has smoothed the wrinkles on his forehead and by his eyes, and given birth to the lilies and roses on his cheeks.

IN another despatch he informs M. de Lionne that His Brittannic Majesty having gone to inspect the royal fleet at Chatham, and the weather being excessively hot, the King threw off his perriwig and doublet ;

by which imprudence, he caught so violent a cold, that on his return the physicians were sent for, who ordered the royal sufferer to be bled ; and after three or four days medical treatment, he happily recovered. In another he informs his brother minister in Paris, that His Majesty the King of Great Britain, with twelve of the principal Lords of his Court, had done him the honour of supping with him ; and that all things passed off well and without any constraint. The health of "THE KING" was the preamble of the repast, given by the King of Great Britain, who commanded all the guests to follow his example, exempting not even the ladies, who, to say the truth, he parenthetically says, required no pressing.

IN the same despatch, he adds, for the information of his ministerial colleague, that a few days before, as Lady Castlemaine was coming out of the apartments of the Duchess of York, in St. James's Palace, accompanied only by one young lady and a little page, was encountered by three gentlemen, or persons apparently so by their dress, in masks, who attacked her with rude and insolent language, finishing by telling her that the mistress of Edward IV. died on a dunghill, despised and abandoned by every one. As soon as the lady reached her apartments she fainted ; the King, who had been apprized of the occurrence, ran to her assistance, ordered all the gates and doors of the palace and park to be closed, and all persons who were found therein to be arrested. Seven or eight persons who were found within these precincts, were con-

fronted with the offended Majesty of Britain, but were not recognized as the offenders. The adventure soon became known, although every thing possible was done to keep it secret.

IN another missive the Marquis de Lionne receives the important intelligence, that the Count and Countess de Grammont left London that day, and travelled in newly-married style. He will tell you, he says, a hundred things which I dare not write, but he is sorely afflicted by an ill turn which some one has done him with the King—taxing him with being a blasphemer. I have long known him, writes de Comminges, but never knew him to be addicted to that vice ; moreover I assure you that he learned it not here, where they swear less than any where else ; and I have seen four gentlemen sent to prison, and fined a thousand pieces each, for using blasphemous language when drunk ; of whom two were imprisoned a long time as defaulters, till the sums were raised and paid by their friends. This bright spot in the dark Court of Charles the Second, stands out in bold relief among the murky characters in the back ground.

BEFORE leaving this representative of French Majesty, it will be but fair to let his Excellency speak of his reconciliation with the Corporation of London. On the 13th November 1664, he writes to the Great Monarch, that about a fortnight before the Lord-Mayor-elect of the City of London, had invited him in the most honourable manner possible, to dine at Guildhall on the day of his inauguration, with the Lords of the

King's Council ; and had assured him that everything was so well arranged, by general consent, as to render him all the honour and respect that was due to his character. Also, that the error which it had been their misfortune to commit, last year, should be fully repaired, by a reception that should be as satisfactory to him, as the former had been grievous to them. On the morning of the great civic festival, the King, as before, sent his master of the ceremonies to beg of the Ambassador, in his Majesty's name, to attend the civic festival. This, he says, he did sufficiently early to give no pretext for another accident ; but it was quite unnecessary ; for never was any one received with greater honour, not only by the Gentlemen of the City, but by the Lords of the Council, of whom the most considerable behaved to him with so much civility and honour, as to excite envy among many. At last the Lord Mayor, by command of the Chancellor, gave him the compliments of the whole city ; which had no other object than to do honour to his Majesty through his representative. He gave the health of the King of England, which M. de Comminges drank, and then the Chancellor gave that of His Majesty the King of France, which he did, says the despatch, most worthily, and obliged all the Lords to give it with all due honour and respect. After the dinner he was conducted to his coach, and neither the Chancellor, nor any of his noble friends, attempted to leave the table till after his departure. In conclusion, he informs the great Louis, that in recounting the honours which he had received,

it was not to contribute to his own vanity or advantage, but solely to inform His Majesty how he was honoured and esteemed in the English Court.

WHILE these events were passing in England, the march of mind was proceeding abroad. In Paris, the Royal Academy of *Belles-Lettres* and inscriptions was founded for the purpose of writing inscriptions, inventing designs and legends for medals, statues and other monuments of the King and illustrious men of France. Among its principal publications is the *Medallic History* of Louis XIV., a work as much celebrated for the beauty of its designs and the elegance of its execution, as it is for the surpassing vanity of the Monarch whose weaknesses it flatters. The same year gave birth to the Prussian monarchy, the Elector of Brandenburg, raising his dominions to the rank of a kingdom, and covering his electoral cap, with the golden rigol of monarchy.

THE Royal Society of London continued its inventions, experiments and discoveries as its histories recount. Wren invented an instrument for drawing correctly in perspective, a weather-clock, which is described and delineated in Birch's* history of the Royal Society. Evelyn records in his diary for October 1664, an interesting tour to the University of Oxford, where he went to visit Mr. Boyle, with whom he found Dr. Wallis and Dr. Christopher Wren, in the tower of the Schools, observing the discus of the sun, for the passing of the planet Mercury over it. He then

* Vol. I. p. 341.

visited the Sheldonian Theatre, at that time building ; but as it was but little above the foundations, Wren showed and explained the model to him.

IN the course of this year, Wren delivered his first oration to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society ; in which he tells them to look back on what they had done, and what they had to do. That it was encouraging to reflect, that by the prudence and diligence of the President, and the ingenious performances of the Fellows, they had, hitherto, kept up their reputation both at home and abroad ; and he made no question but the design of the many excellent persons who formed the Society, was to prove themselves benefactors to mankind, and to perfect many things for which posterity might be really obliged to them.

To effect these great purposes, he recommends three modes ; namely, to advance, first knowledge, then profit, and lastly the health and conveniences of life : all of which he explains in detail, under those three heads. He recommends also the study of physiology in all its branches, and especially a history of the Seasons, which being particularly useful to posterity, not being the work of one person, nor of little time though of little trouble, was a business well fitted for a society. This excellent work he commends, emphatically, to their attention, as having been desired by all modern Philosophers, although no one had then had the patience to pursue it. To accomplish this desirable object, he proposed two primary divisions, first, a meteorological history ; and second, a history of

things depending upon alterations of the air and seasons. To the first of these divisions he appoints five diurnal histories, which he explains in full ; and to the second part a similar series of observations and details of conducting them. Above all, he wishes that the Physicians of their Society should be desired to furnish a good account of the epidemical diseases of the year ; histories of any new diseases that should happen ; changes of the old ; difference of operation in medicine according to the weather and seasons, both inwardly and in wounds ; and to these he would have added, a due consideration of the weekly and annual bills of mortality.

THUS, instead of practising the vanity of prognostications, he wished them to have the patience, for some years, to register past events, which, he observes, is the only certain way of learning to prognosticate ; *experiment and reason being the only way of prophesying natural events.* He did not press on them the utility of these observations, as he was confident that all who heard him fully apprehended what excellent speculations, what a multitude of ingenious consequences must thence arise conducive to profit, health, convenience, pleasure and prolongation of life ; and that no one part in the whole extent of philosophy would afford them more delightful or useful speculations, or render them more considerable to posterity. He then states the difficulties which present themselves, and the best ways of overcoming them ; and concludes a long and useful address, by saying that he

could suggest many other things of that nature, which, if the design be once begun, he would willingly submit to the judgment of the Society*.

At this time Sir William Temple, a man of taste and a lover of art, science and literature, but more partial to the busy fields of politics and diplomacy, than to the study or the lecture-room, was in Paris, ostensibly for pleasure, but secretly on a mission of importance from his Sovereign to the French King. During his residence in that capital he became acquainted with the Duke de Chevreuse, son-in-law of the Minister Colbert, who often sought his company ; and, one morning, he detained him in the gallery of Versailles, in showing and explaining the various machines and mechanical works of that grand palace, so long as to fatigue the Englishman's patience. The Duke, says the relater of this anecdote, whenever engaged in this manner, forgot the march of time, and had occupied two hours in declaiming on the wonders of the place. The palace clock struck two, then the usual dinner hour, and at the last stroke, Sir William, interrupted the lecture, took the tedious Duke by the arm, and said—" I assure you, sir, that of all the machines with which I am acquainted, I know not one, at this particular hour, which I consider finer than that which is employed in turning a roasting-spit, and I

* For the whole of this address, see *Parentalia*, p. 224, and my *Memoirs of Wren*, p.p. 151-158.

† *Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon*, Sup. tom. III, p. 128.

must depart in all haste to try the effects of one." So saying, he turned away quickly and left *M. le Duc* in astonishment that a philosopher should think of dinner.

THE year 1665 is memorable in English history, from the great and fatal epidemic or plague, which devastated the metropolis, and is so touchingly depicted in Defoe's imaginary journal of that event, in the person of a citizen supposed to have been a witness of that melancholy visitation. The writer was but two years of age at the time of its occurrence, therefore must have gathered his information from hearsay, and the trifling printed records of the time ; yet it is so naturally written that it deceived Dr. Mead, who thought it to be genuine, as hundreds of others have thought of his *Robinson Crusoe*. This terrific visitation occurred at a most unfortunate time for England, who was then involved in war with Holland, and whilst plague and pestilence filled the ditches and monster graves of the city and its suburbs, raising mounds of human carcases, fire and the sword filled our hospitals, as Evelyn, who was one of the Commission for the wounded, sick and prisoners taken in this unfortunate war, relates.

THE Dutch war was provoked by Louis XIV. on the suggestion* of his ministers Le Tellier and the

* *Memoirs de M. le duc de St. Simon*, Vol. I, p. 14. Evelyn confirms this opinion, in his *Diary* for April 5th, 1665, which he says, "was a day of public humiliation for success in this terrible war, began doubtless at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States (of Holland) and Protestant interest. Great preparation on both sides."

Marquis de Louvois his son, through jealousy of the great Colbert, and the bigoted hatred of the former to the Huguenots and the Protestant religion. One instance of this animosity is sufficient to prove its extent. On signing the royal proclamation for that enormous breach of faith, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he sung exultingly, the *Nunc dimittis* of the holy Simeon on receiving the future Saviour of the world into his arms. Yet, neither did this detestable act, nor the profanation of the divine hymn, prevent the pious Bishop Bossuet from exercising his craft as the universal panegyrist of his contemporaries, by exalting him in an eloquent funeral oration, as a great man, and a consummate minister of state. The Duke de Grammont thought so differently, that on seeing him one day, gliding away like an evil spirit, from a secret audience with the King, exclaimed, "I think I see a pole-cat stealing away from a hen-roost, licking his blood-stained snout."

THIS war led to the much-boasted naval victory over the Dutch, on the 3rd June 1665 off Solebay; the English fleet in two divisions under the commands of the Duke of York, and the Earl of Sandwich; and the Dutch under Opdam, who was blown up in his ship, and Cornelius Tromp, who effected a masterly retreat with a portion of his fleet to Holland. The personal courage of the Duke of York, has been much extolled, but in this action off Solebay, Lord Sandwich told his confidential friend and kinsman*, Mr. Pepys,

* Diary, June 21, 1665.

that although by accident the Prince was at the beginning of the fight, in the van, for the first pass, yet for the rest of the day, he Lord Sandwich, occupied that situation. That notwithstanding all the commendations of his valour, which seems scarcely to surpass his well known timidity at the battle of the Boyne, still a jeer, in that part of Ireland, the Duke of York's ship had hardly a shot in its side, nor a man killed, whereas that of Lord Sandwich had above thirty in her hull and not one mast or yard whole, but was the most battered ship of the fleet, and lost the most men except the Mary, Captain Smith, and that the utmost the Duke did, was almost out of gun-shot. The subject of the Duke's shortening sail during the action became afterwards a subject of Parliamentary enquiry, but Sir John Denham in his poem called "Advice to a Painter," attributes it, ironically, to his Duchess's anxiety for his safety.

"SHE therefore the Duke's person recommends
To Brouncker, Penn and Coventry, her friends ;
To Penn much, Brouncker more, most Coventry ;
For they, she knew, were all more 'fraid than he."

After recommending many precautions the poet adds—

"But these the Duke rejected, only chose
To keep far off ; let others interpose."

He then narrates the Duke's going to bed desiring the others to keep watch,

"But lo, Brouncker, by a secret instinct,
Slept on, nor needed ; he had all day winked.

The Duke in bed, he then first draws his steel,
Whose virtue makes the misled compass wheel.
So ere he waked, both fleets were innocent,
And Brouncker member is of Parliament."

This admirable satirical poem gives a lively picture of the state of the British Navy, its commander and managers, in bold and striking colours in "ultra marinish blue," as he directs his "Painter." So did also Andrew Marvel* in his satires, where he lays all the blame, as some one must be accused, on Sir Peter Pett, the eminent ship-builder, as a scape-goat, when the Dutch burned the English fleet at Chatham, concluding after nine or ten couplets of questions, all answered by "Pett."

"Who should it be but the fanatic *Pett* ?
Pett, the sea-architect, in making ships,
Was the first cause of all these naval slips.
Had he not built, none of these faults had been—
If no Creation, there had been no sin."

TROUBLED as the nation was with this disgraceful war, it was doubly afflicted with this terrible pestilence, which almost depopulated the metropolis, and decimated the suburban counties. No better account of this national calamity can be found than in the full and veridical pages of Pepys and Evelyn, for, from the before-mentioned reasons, the affecting narrative of Defoe can be considered no more authentic, nor less of a novel than his own *Crusoe*, or the interesting narrative of our able contemporary, Mr. Harrison Ainsworth.

PEPYS mentions great fears of the sickness in the City, as early as April 29th, 1665, two or three houses

being already shut up. On the 15th June he records, that the town had become very sickly, and people afraid of it ; there dying that week one hundred and twelve, and forty-three the week before, on the 27th that the plague had greatly increased ; on the 28th in his way to Westminster Hall, he observed several houses shut up with the plague in King Street, and near the palace ; the next day he found the courtyard at Whitehall full of waggons and people preparing to leave town, and the mortality daily increasing. The Court removed to Hampton Court and the Queen-mother returned to France to avoid the sickly metropolis. July 2nd he mentions seven or eight houses in Basinghall Street shut up, being, as then called, plague houses. Pepys sent his wife and her servants to be out of the way of the disorder, to Woolwich, but remained at his post and duties the whole time of its duration, regardless of the dangers which surrounded him. In a letter to Sir William Coventry, he wrote that "the sickness in general thickens round us, and particularly in our neighbourhood. You, Sir, took your turn of the sword : I must not, therefore, grudge to take mine of the pestilence." On the 5th July, he walked round to Whitehall, the Park being locked up, and observed a house shut up, on account of the plague in Pall Mall, where heretofore, he says, "in Cromwell's time, we young men used to keep our weekly club." On the 18th he was much troubled at hearing in Westminster that the parish officers buried the dead in the open Tothill-fields, for want of room

elsewhere. Evelyn, on the 16th records that during that week eleven hundred died of that complaint, and in the following week upwards of two thousand ; and that two houses in his parish of Deptford was closed on its account.

ON the 2nd August, a solemn fast was held throughout England, to deprecate God's displeasure against the land by war and pestilence. On the 15th Evelyn records the deaths of that week at five thousand, and on the 7th September at nearly ten thousand weekly ; and that he went through the City and Suburbs from Kent Street to St. James's. He describes it as a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins deposited in the streets, which were thin of people ; the shops shut up and all in mournful silence, not knowing whose turn it might be next. Evelyn went to the Duke of Albemarle for a pest ship for his infected men, which were not a few.

PEPYS at the latter end of the month found that the fatal disease had reached his part of the city, and indeed, he says, everywhere ; so that he began to think of setting his affairs in order ; which he prays God to enable him to accomplish, both as to soul and body. He says, it is lamentable to hear the church bells tolling so often, either for deaths or burials, and confirms in many of his daily entries, the less equal records of Evelyn as to great and increasing numbers of the deaths in the city and suburbs. On the 3rd August, being at Sir George Carteret's, at Deptford, he learned from the weekly bill of mortality, that the deaths that

week had been two thousand and twenty of the plague and three thousand and odd of all diseases ; and on the 10th he was grieved to find the bill increased to four thousand, of which number three thousand died of the plague. On the 21st he went after evening service at Brentford church, by water to Queenhithe, but could not get the watermen to venture further for fear of the contagion. Therefore he procured a lantern in fear of meeting corpses, carrying to be burried ; he, however met none, but saw occasionally a link, which indicated such a sad procession, at a distance.

THE next day he visited his wife and servants at Woolwich, and, on his return to Greenwich, he saw a coffin with a body therein, dead of the plague, lying in an open close belonging to Combe Farm, which had been carried out the night before, and the parish officers had not appointed any one to bury it ; but only set a watch there all day and night, that nobody should go in or come out. “ This disease,” he observes, “ making us more cruel to one another than we are to dogs.” He walked to Rotherhithe, felt troubled at going through the narrow lane where the plague was, but ventured, took water and reached his home well.

THAT the returns of the number of deaths was diminished for the purpose of lessening the fears of the people might be conjectured, but Mr. Pepys puts all doubt at an end on the subject, for on the 30th August he met Hadley, his parish-clerk, who told him the plague was rapidly increasing, and much in their parish ; for, he told him nine had died that week, and

he had returned but six. This, says the diarist, is an ill practice, and made him think it was so in other places, and that the plague was greater than people thought it to be. The following day he found had increased that week beyond all expectation of almost two thousand, making the general bill seven thousand one hundred and odd, those by the plague above six thousand. It was feared that the true number of the dead that week would be nearly ten thousand ; partly from the poor that could not be noticed from their numbers, and partly from the Quakers, who would not suffer any bell to be rung for their dead. " This month," he says, " ends with great sadness for the public, through the greatness of the plague, almost every where throughout the kingdom."

THE vanity of this worthy and excellent man, who " wore his heart upon his sleeve," as well as developed it in his diary, peeps out, even on this melancholy occasion. On the " 3rd September (Lord's day)," he writes, " up, and put on my coloured silk suit, very fine, and my new perriwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it ; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to perriwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hair, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague." After church, Lord Brouncker, Sir John Minnes and himself, went to the Vestry, by desire of the Justices of the Peace, to adopt measures for staying the progress of the devas-

tating malady. And he exclaims against the madness of the people, who would, because they were forbidden, come in crowds with the dead bodies to see them buried. They therefore agreed on issuing orders for its prevention.

HE records, the same day, an affecting episode, of a complaint brought before them against a man for taking a child from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told them in reply, that it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracechurch Street, who had buried all the rest of his children from the plague ; that himself and his wife, being shut up in despair of escaping the dreadful malady, desired only to save the life of this little child ; and had prevailed so as to have it received stark naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, having put it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich ; where, upon hearing the story, they permitted it to be received and kept in the town.

HE laments how few people he sees in the streets, and those looking like people who had taken leave of the world. He went one day to the Exchange and found not fifty people there, and thought to take farewell of the London Streets that day. On the 4th September he again passed Combe Farm, and learned that one-and-twenty persons had died of the plague at that place alone.

To stop the progress of this dreadful malady the Lord Mayor ordered fires to be made in the streets, and in going up the river to Lord Albemarle's, Pepys saw fires made for this purpose burning all the way

on both sides of the Thames ; and to his great surprise and trouble saw, in broad daylight, two or three burials on the Bankside, one at the very heels of the other, doubtless, all of the plague ; and yet, at least, forty or fifty people following each of them. On the 7th he went to the Tower, sent for the weekly bill, and found eight thousand two hundred and fifty-two dead in all, and of them six thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight of the plague.

By the 14th September, the violence of the plague began to abate. Pepys went on 'Change that day, found above two hundred people there ; but not a man or merchant of any note, but plain men all. The weekly bill of deaths showed a decrease of five hundred since the preceding, which was the first decrease since the beginning of the sickness. Yet, although this general decrease was pleasing, it troubled the worthy official to find, that in the City, within the walls, the mortality had increased, and was close to their office. He complains of meeting corpses dead of the plague, carried close by him through Fenchurch Street, at noon-day, to be buried ; of seeing a person sick of the sores carried in a Hackney-coach close by him in Gracechurch Street ; of finding the Angel Tavern at the lower end of Tower Hill shut up ; and more than that, he adds, that the ale-house at the Tower-stairs was also closed, and the occupier dying of the plague. Also, he was much troubled to hear that poor Payne, his waiter, had buried a child, and was dying himself ; that a labourer he had sent but a day

or two before to Dagenham to inquire after his friends there, was dead of the malady ; and that one of his own watermen, who carried him daily, fell sick as soon as he had landed him four days before, when they had been all night upon the water, and, as he (Pepys) believed, took the infection the day they came from Brentford, was then dead of the plague. And lastly, after other ill news apart from the all-absorbing malady, to find that both his servants, William Hewer and Tom Edwards, had lost their fathers, both in St. Sepulchre's parish, that week, put him, he says, with good reason, into great apprehensions. But he put off his melancholy thoughts as much as he could, to keep his wife and family in good heart.

THE state to which the metropolis was brought by this terrific visitation, may be collected from these faithful eye witnesses of national desolation. Pepys laments to see no boats upon the river, grass growing all up and down Whitehall Court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets. On the 20th September, he accompanied Lord Brouncker, Sir William Minnes, and Sir William Batten, on Admiralty business, to the Duke of York, who showed them the list of the deaths for the preceding week, just sent by the Lord Mayor. They had increased above six hundred, contrary to everybody's hopes and expectations from the coldness of the weather.

EVELYN on the 4th October mentions the recurrence of the monthly fast ; and on the 11th, that he went through the whole city, having occasion to alight from

his coach in several places about business, he was environed with multitudes of poor pestiferous creatures begging alms : the shops universally shut up, a dreadful prospect ! He closes his diary for this year with this pious exclamation—" Now blessed be God for His extraordinary mercies and preservation of me this year, when thousands and ten thousands perished, and were swept away on each side of me, there dying in our parish* this year 406 of the pestilence !"

PEPYS relates that in October the pestilence was still on the increase in the eastern parts of the city and in Greenwich. On the 7th he went to the Admiralty Office†, but did little business, on account of the horrible crowd, and lamentable moaning of the poor seamen that were lying starving in the streets for want of money, which troubled and perplexed him to the heart. More came at noon, when they had to pass through them, for then above a hundred of them, some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to them for aid. This disgraceful scene was enhanced by his afterwards meeting plague-victims being carried to the grave ; but, as he says, to see how custom had habituated him, that he began almost to think nothing of the infection. On the 16th he again visited the Exchange, found it almost deserted, went to the Tower, the streets empty and melancholy, meeting scarcely any persons but poor, sick people, covered with sores, and overheard, as he walked, "everybody talking of this friend dead and

* Deptford.

† In Seething Lane, Tower Street.

that one sick, so many in this place, and so many in that." He heard that in Westminster, there was not a physician, and but one apothecary left, all the rest being dead.

IN these perilous times the conduct of the King and his court was most disgraceful. Evelyn and Pepys, who had full opportunities, agree in reprobating their disgusting wantonness and profligacy. The very day, just quoted, when Pepys, after his melancholy walk from the Exchange to the Tower, on his arrival at the latter place he found the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle at dinner, sat down with them, found much good cheer, the Lieutenant of the Tower, his lady and several officers being of the company. He declares that to hear their silly talk was enough to make him mad, the Duke having scarcely any but fools about him. On his return from this admirable specimen of the court of Charles II. he went to the Steelyard on business concerning the fleet, but found it closed on account of the plague. At the end of the month he records its diminution with satisfaction.

ON the 15th November the weekly deaths by the plague were *but* thirteen hundred, being four hundred less than the preceding weekly bill ; on the 22nd they were reduced to about six hundred, and on the 30th to three hundred and thirty-three. On the 15th December he records an increase within the walls of the city, which he attributes to the recent close warm weather, and the rapid return of the inhabitants, which made the city so thicken with people as to cause fears of its

return in all its horrors. He closes this unhappy year by recording that the plague had almost ceased its ravages, the town was filling apace, the shops were opening rapidly, and he prays for its termination, as it keeps the Court away from the place of business, and all, he says, was going to rack, for, as to public measures, they, at that distance, think nothing about them. In 1666, the plague decreased in the early months, continued variable during the spring, and had resumed a considerable increase during August, in London, Colchester, Deal and other places, in which both Evelyn and Pepys had official business.

EARLY in 1665, Wren went over to France, the plague stopping all his occupations. Whilst in Paris he inspected and studied all the principal buildings of that metropolis and its neighbourhood. In a letter to his friend*, the Rev. Dr. Bateman, he declares that "he was so careful not to lose the impressions of the structures he had surveyed, that he should bring away all France upon paper." It is a pity that our great Architect's lot had not fallen on better ground than the land decorated by the false taste of Louis XIV. Louvois, Colbert, and the two Mansarts, for too much of the worst of that style pervades the earliest of his works.

WREN's first intentions were to visit Italy, taking the French capital, and other great cities in his way, with the view of improving his knowledge and taste in

* WARD's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 102.

Architecture. On his arrival in Paris, he was introduced by letter from a friend in England, to the Earl of St. Albans*, by whom he was received and treated with distinguished kindness and politeness. The Louvre was then building by the elder Mansart, which attracted Wren's closest attention. Upwards of a thousand artisans and artists of various crafts were then employed upon the works, some in laying the mighty foundations, some in raising the stories, columns, entablatures, etc., built with vast blocks of stones, raised by great and powerful engines ; others, he describes, as engaged in carving, inlaying marbles, modeling plaster ornaments, painting, gilding, and such like constructive and deco-

* Henry Jermyn, created Baron Jermyn 1641, advanced to the Earldom of St. Albans 1660, K.G. He had great influence at the Court of France, being, as was supposed, married to the Queen Dowager. He left England in November 1660, was acknowledged English Plenipotentiary at Paris in 1667. Pepys mentions this marriage several times, and in his diary for April 21, 1669, says that "my Lord St. Albans is hourly expected with great offers of a million of money, to buy our breach with the Dutch ; and this, people think, may tempt the King to take the money, and thereby be out of the necessity of calling on the Parliament again." On the 27th April, he learned from Sir H. Cholmley, that it was brought about by the Duke and Duchess of York, the Queen Mother, and Lord St. Albans, that for a sum of money we shall enter into a league with the King of France, against the Dutch." The interest felt by Lord St. Albans for the Queen Mother, is further proved by the letter of the Comte de Comminges, French Ambassador in London, to Louis XIV. in the appendix to Pepys's diary, when relating the Queen Dowager's illness, and the wish of all parties for her return to France, he says "le Comte de St. Albans est si intéressé à sa conservation qu'il tomberoit dans cette volonté universelle, quoiqu'il soit ici fort à son aise." Independent paternal King ! patriotic Ministers !

native works. In Wren's journal* he writes, that "an academy of painters, sculptors and architects, with the chief artificers of the Louvre, meet the first and last Saturday of every month. M. Colbert, superintendent of the works, comes to the Louvre every Wednesday, and, if business prevents not, Thursday."

WHEN Mansart presented his designs for the façade of the Louvre to the Minister Colbert, he was so pleased with them, that he wished the Architect to promise that he would not alter them in any way; but Mansart properly, refused to undertake the works on that condition, being desirous, as he said, to preserve the right of improving them if he could.

THIS refusal, probably, led to the substitution of Claude Perrault's metrical façade, which Voltaire† calls, "one of the most august monuments of Architecture in the world." Its coupled Corinthian columns Wren imitated in the western front St. Paul's Cathedral, and highly praised the design. The family of Perrault, like that of Wren, were all men of distinction in art, science and literature. Claude, like Wren, studied physic in early life, and, like him, having a decided taste and love for the fine arts, made Architecture his profession, and rose, also, to distinguished eminence.

LOUIS XIV., enveloped, as he often was, in the dust

* SEWARD'S Anecdotes, 3rd Ed. Lon. 1796, vol. II. p. 76.

† Age of Louis XIV.

of his buildings at Marly*, was as open to the same artifices, in these trifles, as he was in those of greater importance. Mansart, although the least skilful of the King's Architects, had, however, a little more taste and knowledge in his art than his royal master, and was continually besetting him with projects of one sort or another, which led to enormous expense ; but gave Mansart many occasions of enriching himself. He had the art of carrying to the King his unfinished designs, of leading the royal builder, imperceptibly, to its imperfections. These little defects the flattered monarch soon discovered, hinted improvements, suggested alterations, amendments and such like. Mansart exclaimed, how just were the criticisms, how true the observations, how much the design was improved ; that his Majesty was as much master of all the delicacies of architecture, and of the beauties of gardening, as he was of the great art of governing mighty nations ! If, as it often happened, says M. de St. Simon, the King obstinately insisted upon perpetrating some portion of his bad taste, Mansart admired it with equal zeal, and executed it, as far as the royal taste, which was ever changeable, permitted him to amend it. After these successes, Mansart became more enterprising, and often boldly importuned the King, not only for himself, but for his relations, and sometimes his demands were so extraordinary and pertinacious, that Louis felt much relieved, when he heard of his death.

THE Abbé Charles introduced Wren to the Chevalier

* Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Tom. I. p. 204.

Bernini, who showed him his designs for the Louvre, which were rejected by Louis and Colbert for that by François Mansart, which was again superseded at his death in 1666, and, as before mentioned, that of Claude Perrault's adopted. The great Italian artist, who was then enjoying the distinguished reputation of having put a finish to the great Roman Cathedral began by Bramante, continued by Michelangiolo and completed by himself,* showed Wren other of his designs, among which was a statue of Louis XIV., that he was then executing. He went over the fine collection of medals, intaglios, pictures, books, drawings of plants, birds, etc., of the Duke of Orleans, which were courteously shown and described to him by the Abbé Bruno, their keeper. He inspected all the Royal Palaces, describes Fontainbleau as having a stately wildness and vastness suited to the desert in which it stood, and the antique mass of the castle of St. Germaine, with its hanging gardens, as delightfully surprising, to any man of judgment; but the pleasures below, vanished in the breath that was spent in ascending to view them. The palace, or as he prefers calling it, the cabinet of Versailles, called him twice to view it. The mixture of brick and stone, blue tiles and gold, made it, he says, look like a rich livery, and not an inch within, but was crowded with little curiosities of ornament. The women, he describes, as making, there, all the language, setting the fashions, and meddling with religion, politics and philosophy; so also did they sway in Architecture.

* See p. 32.

The consequences of the latter were, that works of filigrane, and trinkets were in great vogue, but building, he asserts, ought certainly to have the attributes of eternal, and, therefore, the only thing incapable of new fashions. Such language, from such a master, should command veneration, but fashion, fickle fashion, sways now in London, as well as it did then in Paris ; and we may now “ see,” as Lord Bacon observes, “ as good sights often in tarts.”

THE masculine furniture of the Mazarin Palace, pleased Wren much better. At the time of his visit, it contained a great and noble collection of antique statues and busts, many of them being of porphyry, excellent bassi-rilievi, fine pictures by the greatest masters, splendid Arras tapestry, genuine mosaics, inlaid works and tessellated pavements, porcelain vases painted by Raffaello, and an immense quantity of other rarities. The choicest of these articles had been recently removed to the grand apartments of the Queen-Mother in the Louvre ; which palace Wren visited many times.

THE Mazarin Palace then belonged to the amiable and eccentric Duke de Mazarin,* son of Maréchal de la Meilleraye, an intimate friend of the Cardinal who has given historical distinction to that name. The Cardinal selected the son of his old friend, as being the richest man he knew, to be heir to his estates and name, and gave him one of his *nieces*, the Mancinis, in marriage. With great piety, useful charity, polished

* Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Vol. III. p. 100.

manners and a fine person, M. de Mazarin possessed therewith a perverse disposition that made all about him miserable. He was jealous of his wife, perhaps not without cause ; he rendered himself so unpleasant to the King, that he never received the rank of Marshal of France, which was almost at his command. He took upon himself to play the part of Censor to the King and his courtiers, an office more necessary than agreeable to them. He therefore retired to his estates, and gave himself up to a life of devotion and austerity, seldom appearing at Court, but when he did, was always received by the courteous Louis XIV. with an air of friendship and marked distinction.

IN his retirement, actuated by these capricious feelings, he mutilated his finest statues, bedaubed some of his finest pictures, collected, at a vast expense, by the Cardinal and his wealthy father. He appointed his servants by lottery, so that his cook became steward, and a floor-scrubber, secretary : saying such was the will of God. The Chateau-Mazarin caught fire, and he drove away all who came to extinguish it, for the same superstitious reason. He rejoiced when he lost a cause, as losing what did not belong to him ; and if he gained one, it was so far satisfactory to his conscience. He had his daughters' front teeth drawn, for being handsome, he considered female beauty dangerous to virtue. Whenever he travelled, he always took with him the body of his deceased wife, which he brought from England. At the time of Wren's visit to his palace, this whimsical nobleman was governor

of Vincennes, Alsace, a Lieutenant-General, and in the enjoyment of many honourable, trustworthy and profitable employments, which he held, till relieved by death at the age of fourscore years.

AFTER visiting the incomparable villas of Vaux and Maisons he inspected Ruel, Courances, Chilly, St. Maur, St. Maude, Issy, Meudon, Rincy, Chantilly, Verneul, Lincour and many others, which he recorded so minutely, that, to use his own expression previously quoted, he brought away almost all France on paper.

In one of Wren's interviews with Bernini, he was permitted to see, the great master's design for the Louvre. He describes it, as consisting of five small drawings on paper, for which he had received as many thousand pistoles. He says, "Bernini's design for the Louvre, I would have given my skin for ; but the old reserved Italian gave me but a few minutes view. I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory, and shall be able, by discourse and a crayon, to give a tolerable account of it." He made large purchases of drawings and engravings of ornaments, that he might give his countrymen examples of grotesques, foliage, and similar ornamental works, in which, he says, the Italians themselves confessed the French excelled all others. He promised to give his friends, on his return home a very good account of all the best artists of France ; but his business then was, to pry into trades and arts. He put himself into all shapes to humour them, calling his adventures in this way, a comedy,

which though sometimes expensive, he was loth to leave the playing in.

OF the most noted men within his knowledge or acquaintance, he enumerates the architects, Bernini, Mansart, Vaux, Gobert, Le Pautre, Anguiere and Sarazin ; sculptors and statuaries, Perrot, celebrated for bassi-rilievi, Van Ostal and Arnoldin, modellers in plaster, who were then executing the admirable ornamental stucco works at the Louvre ; Orphelin and De la Tour, engravers of medals and coins. Of historical painters, he names Le Brun, Bourdon, Poussin, Rouvine, Champagne, Vilcien, Loyre, Coypel, Picard and Mignard, the latter of whom painted both history and portraits ; Beaubrun, who excelled in portraits of women, and Baptiste and Robert, eminent in flowers. Mr. Matthews an English painter, who resided in the Rue Gobelins, worked for the tapestry weavers, and M. Bruno, an excellent artist, who made designs for the same purpose. He visited many goldsmiths and chasers, who wrought admirably well in plate ; the Abbé Burdele painted well in enamel, and M. de la Quintinye had great skill and taste in agriculture, planting and gardening.

IN the spring of 1666, the virulence of the plague having abated, people began to return to the metropolis, business to resume its former aspect, and the Royal Society recommenced its meetings at Gresham College in the middle of February, and after a long interruption caused by the fatal malady, continued its weekly discussions as formerly.

WREN, it has been asserted, was arrested in his progress to Italy and Greece, by the great fire of London. But in a letter quoted in his memoirs from Parentalia, he writes, that as Lord Berkeley intended to return to England at Christmas (1665), he proposed to avail himself of that nobleman's company, and by that time to perfect what he had in hand—observations on the present state of architecture, arts and manufactures in France. Wren was in London at the Royal Society in March 1666, and Boyle* mentions that his friend arrived in England about the end of February or the beginning of March 1666, more than six months before the fire.

THE earliest business of the Royal Society was a serious investigation into the cause of the late and preceding epidemics, and into the best methods of prevention and cure. The medical fellows engaged heartily in the work. Dr. Glisson and Dr. Wharton, with others who had remained in London during the plague, were requested to communicate the particulars of what they had themselves observed, or had collected from others of good authority. Pepys was at the meeting†, and records it as the first since the plague, and that “Dr. Goddard did fill us with talk, in defence of his and his fellow physicians going out of town in the plague-time; saying, that their particular patients were most gone out of town, and they left at liberty; and a

* Boyle's works, Vol. V. p.p. 338 and 351.

† Diary, Vol. III. p. 169.

great deal more, etc." Dr. Hodges*, one of the city physicians, during the plague, informed Dr. Merret†, a fellow of the Society, that the true pestilential spots, then called "the tokens," were "gangrenated flesh of a pyramidal figure, penetrating to the very bone, with its basis downwards, altogether mortified and insensible, even if a pin or other sharp body, be thrust into it ; and what Dr. Hodges thought particularly remarkable was, that the next adjoining parts, though not discoloured, were equally mortified. Among other useful papers presented to the Society in the spring of this year, were Boyle's treatise on the origin of forms and qualities, according to the corpuscular philosophy, illustrated by experiments ; and a report from a committee, consisting of the President, Sir Paul Neile, Dr. Wren, Wallis, Goddard, Pope and Hooke, on Hevelius's treatises on the two recent comets, and the *mantissa* to his "Prodromus Cometicus." The Society continued its sittings and investigations, although the contagion had not ceased.

THE propensity of the English people to ape the manners of the French, especially in the higher ranks of society, has been often noticed, but two occurrences which happened in the two Courts show, that however

* NATHANIEL HODGES, M.D., author of *ΛΟΙΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ sive Pestis nuperæ populum Londinensem grassantis narratio historica*. 8vo. LONDON 1672.

† Author of "Pinax rerum naturalium Britannicarum," 8vo. He was a friend of Boyle, Wren, Hooke, etc., and distinguished himself in the dispute between the College of Physicians and the Apothecaries.

powerful, flattered and obeyed, both the French King and his subjects deigned to imitate those of England. Evelyn relates in his diary*, that on the solemn fast day, for the public calamities of war and pestilence, while the King was in the chapel, Sir Daniel Harvey arrived from the Duke of Albemarle with the news of the dreadful encounter between the English and Dutch, fleets, which was, as Evelyn expresses it, more a deliverance than a triumph. The King stopped the service to hear the particulars, and ordered that public thanks should immediately be given, as for a victory. In† like manner Louis XIV. being at the Sermon, Louvois his war minister, entered the Chapel Royal, and approached his Majesty. The King made a sign to Pere Gaillard, an eloquent Jesuit, who was preaching, to stop ; and after giving a few minutes' audience to his minister, he said, " Father, you may proceed ; Philipsburg has been taken by Monseigneur the Dauphin ; we must thank God !" This was one of the military achievements of this illustrious warrior, assisted by Marshall Turenne, some years after Charles had performed the same part, for an imaginary victory over a people, the war with whom was both a disgrace and a discomfiture to England.

THE other anecdote is less atrocious, and more amusing, but like the former, has a strong suggestive moral as to the vanity of human affairs. The Duke de St.

* June 6, 1666.

† Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon. Tom. III. p. 361.

Simon relates in his *Memoirs**, that the wife of the Duke of ***, the English Ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV. was a large, stout, masculine woman in the decline of life ; had been handsome, and still thought herself so ; dressed her hair behind her ears ; rouged highly ; wore patches and abundance of nick-nacks ; dressed low, with bare neck and shoulders ; and, in fact, was an ancient version of Sir Peter Lely's beauties of the Court of Charles the second.

FROM the moment of the arrival of this showy sample of full-blown English beauty at the Court of France, she hesitated at nothing, spoke loud and often, always in bad French, and made herself at home everywhere and with every body. All her actions and manners were silly ; yet her gaming, her table, her magnificence, and even her general familiarity, so contrary to the ceremonial formality and the pompous dignity of the French Court, became suddenly and universally the mode. The bouncing Duchess found the head dresses of the French women to be ridiculous, and, in fact, confesses M. de St. Simon, they were so, and describes them with a vivid pencil. They were, he says, buildings constructed of wire, ribands, laces, hair, and all sorts of trinkets, upwards of two feet high, which placed the pretty face that supported this tower in the middle of the body, measured from head to heel ; and the side curls were of a similar build, but covered with black gauze. If the supporters moved more than ordinarily quick, the whole fabric

* *Supplément*, Tom. III. p. 224.

shook, and was in danger of falling, to the great inconvenience of the wearer.

AN accident to one of these tower bearers is related by M. de St. Simon*, in another part of his Memoirs, which completely illustrates his proposition of their dangerous qualities. The Marchioness de Charlus, a great gambler, very rich and very avaricious, was one evening at a large party at the Princess de Conti. Between two games of lansquenet she retired with many others to supper, wearing one of these monstrous head dresses, not built upon its natural foundation, but of a separate erection, of the sort then called *com-modes*, which could be put on and taken off like a man's night-cap. The Marchioness was near to M. de Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, when, having taken an egg, and broken the shell, she stooped to reach the salt, and put the upper story of her *coiffure* into the flame of a wax candle without knowing it. The Archbishop, who witnessed the conflagration, darted upon the burning edifice and cast it upon the floor. Madame de Charlus, in the surprise and indignation at being thus publicly uncoifed without knowing why, threw the egg into the Archbishop's face, the golden contents of which ran down to the skirts of His Grace's garments. The good-humoured Prelate could do nothing for laughing, and the whole company burst into shouts of laughter at the exposition of the gray, bald and dirty head of the Marchioness, and at the omeletted Archbishop; but more especially at the fury and

* Supplément, Tom. III. p. 304.

threats of the offended lady, at finding herself thus suddenly and publicly scalped. It was a long time before she would listen to the cause, and before assistance could arrive, the whole building became a prey to the flames. The Princess de Conti ordered another, but before it could be fitted to the dilapidated head of the infuriated Marchioness, much time was given to the contemplation of the ruins caused by all-devouring time, and wig-consuming fire.

It was against these enchanted castles that the heroic Louis-le-Grand waged a war as long as that of Troy, and was obliged to raise the siege, till the British Amazon arrived, who with the rapidity of Cæsar, came, saw, and conquered. The advice of Malherbe to Louis XIII. might have been recommended by M. de St. Simon, in his *threnodia* on the Great Louis's defeat, and the Englishwoman's victory over the Tours de Versailles—

“ Prend la foudre, Louis, et va comme un Lion,
Donner le dernier coups à la dernier tête
De la rebellion.”

At the command of the English Minerva, the Gallic belles veiled their diminished heads. From the loftiest heights they cast them down to the lowest depths of innovating fashion, and the Lelyan head dress, with its increased simplicity and consequent increase of beauty, prevailed.

MADAME CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH, of Bavaria, widow of the Duke of Orleans, Louis's only brother*, gives

* Fragmens de Lettres Originales.

the King's speech on this occasion. "I declare that I am stung to the quick when I find that, with all my authority as King of this country, I have lifted up my voice against these lofty head dresses, and no one has paid me the compliment of lowering her top-knots. But, on the arrival of an unknown little English dab, (*une petite guenille d'Angleterre*, is the lady's version of the royal epithet,) with a low head dress, all the Princesses at once fly from one extremity to the other."

ONE of the principal objects which occupied the mind of Charles II. after his restoration to the throne of Great Britain, was the reparation of the Cathedral of St. Paul, which had fallen, by neglect and wilful dilapidation, into a very ruinous state. During the Commonwealth its revenues had been seized, its clergy expelled, its ancient monuments profaned, saw-pits dug in various parts of its inclosure, and its venerable choir converted into horse barracks for the Oliverian troopers.

SUCH was the state of Old St. Paul's, on Charles's return to England; when he expelled the military intruders, restored its clergy, cleansed it from some of its pollutions, and appointed a commission, of which Wren and his friend Evelyn were members, to effect its restoration. In August the commissioners began their operations, and made a report* of its state and their propositions for its restoration.

So did the King and his Commissioners propose, but God disposed otherwise. War and the Plague

* See Evelyn's Diary for August 27, 1666.

were followed by a fire so destructive as to strike men's minds with horror and affright. This triple calamity might have excited compassion in the breast of England's bitterest enemy, but the bigotry that commemorated the wholesale massacre of the Protestants on the eve of St. Bartholomew by medals, pictures and public religious thanks ; commemorated the destruction of the Protestant City of London, by sonnets and rejoicings. The pious M. Benserade, as great an adept in the arts of ingratiating as ever blessed the Courts of the two Louises, the thirteenth and fourteenth, and flattered both these vainglorious monarchs, their christian ministers, the Cardinals de Richelieu and De Mazarin, and the chaste and virtuous Queen-mother so profusely, as to raise the Norman from poverty to wealth, and from padding the streets of Paris on foot, to a splendid equipage in Paris, and a handsome chateau at Gentile, gave vent to his gratification in the following sonnet, written to gratify the French court, and which the holy Father Bohours* pronounced to be so fine, as to deserve translation into more than one language, by their greatest masters.

SONNET SUR L'EMBRASEMENT DE LONDRES.

PAR. M. DE BENSERADE.

Ainsi brûla jadis cette fameuse TROYE,
Qui n'avoit offensé ni ses Rois, ni ses Dieux.
LONDRES d'un bout à l'autre est aux flammes en proye,
Et souffre un même sort qu'elle mérite mieux.

* Pensées ingenieuses, des anciens et des modernes. Recueillies par le Pere BOUHOURS, Paris, 12mo. 1683.

Le crime* qu'elle a fait est un crime odieux,
 A qui jamais d'en haut la grace ne s'octroye.
 Le Soleil n'a rien vû de si prodigieux ;
 Et je ne pense pas que l'avenir le croye.

L'horreur ne s'en pouvoit plus long-tems soutenir
 Et le Ciel accusé de lenteur à punir,
 Aux yeux de l'Univers enfin se justifie.

On voit le châtiment par degres arrivé ;
 La Guerre suit la Peste, et le Feu purifie
 Ce que toute la Mer n'auroit pas bien lavé.

NOTWITHSTANDING Father Bouhours's commendation of this fine sonnet, written by one of the most distinguished of their court-wits, he hesitates a doubt as to the correctness of the thought contained in the last line ; for, the holy critic knew not, if in case the sea had deluged London, she would not have been as well washed by the waters, as she was purified by the fire ; and what caused his religious and charitable doubts was, that the waters of the Deluge, as it seemed to him, expiated no less, the sins of the world, than the fire from Heaven purified the infamous cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

PEPYS, who lived in Seething Lane, near the Tower, and Evelyn who lived at Deptford, both give graphic accounts of this terrible devastation, in their respective diaries ; and from the nature of their offices in the administration of public affairs, and their employments during the fire, must be considered as of authority in all things relating to it.

ON the morning of Sunday, September 2, 1666, Mr.

* Protestantisme.

Pepys was roused from his sleep, at about three o'clock in the morning, and informed that a great fire had broken out; which he conceived by its appearance from his window, to be in the neighbourhood of Mark Lane. Shortly afterwards he was told that above three hundred houses had been burned down in the night, and that the fire was then burning down all Fish Street towards London Bridge. Pepys went to the Tower, and from one of its highest turrets saw the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and raging extensively on both sides. He descended, went to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Robinson, who informed him that it began in the night at Faryner's, the King's Baker, in Pudding Lane, and had already burnt down St. Magnus's Church, and the greater part of Fish Street. He then took a boat, went through the bridge, saw the fire extending to the Old Swan, and before he left, the warehouses in the Steel Yard were on fire. Every one was endeavouring to remove his goods, some throwing them into the river in their despair, others putting them into lighters; poor people staying in their houses till driven out by the flames, then flying into boats, or dropping from their windows into the water.

SEEING the dreadful progress of the fire, Mr. Pepys went by water to Whitehall, saw the King and the Duke of York, told them of what he had seen, and that unless His Majesty commanded houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the progress of the fire. The King therefore commanded Pepys to go to the

Lord Mayor, from him, and desire him to spare no houses, but to pull them down in every direction to isolate the fire, and the Duke of York offered the assistance of the soldiers, if required.

MR. PEPPYS started immediately on his mission, taking Captain Cocke's coach as far as St. Paul's, where he alighted, walked along Watling Street, as well as he could, being crowded with people laden with goods brought away from their burning houses ; and here and there sick people carried away in their beds, the plague not having quite ceased. He at length met the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, in Cannon Street, almost spent with anxiety and fatigue. When he heard the King's message, he cried, says Pepys, like a fainting woman, made loud lamentations, complained that the people would not obey him, that he had been pulling down houses, that the fire followed faster than they could do it, that he needed no more soldiers, and that he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night ; and so left the King's messenger to do as he pleased.

EVELYN, who was at Deptford when the fire broke out, went to Bankside on the Sunday, after public prayers at home, where he saw the dreadful extent of the conflagration. The whole City was in flames, burning from Cheapside to the Thames, all along Cornhill, Tower Street, Fenchurch Street, Gracechurch Street, almost to the Tower. Westward to Baynard's Castle, and Northward to St. Paul's Cathedral, the burning of which was increased, if not caused, by the

scaffolding erected around it by the Commissioners for its proposed reparations. The people, says Evelyn, were so astonished, that from the beginning of the fire, whether by despondency or fate, he knew not, hardly stirred to quench it ; so that there was nothing heard or seen, but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures. Such a consternation seized many of them they scarcely attempted to save their own goods, and those who did were often unsuccessful.

THE sky, says Evelyn, was of a fiery aspect like the top of a mighty burning oven, and the light was seen above forty miles round for many nights ; and the air appeared ignited by the preceding hot and sultry summer, which had prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured houses, churches, public halls, the exchange, hospitals, monuments, ornaments, furniture, goods and everything that came in its way. The noise and cracking, and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the falling of lofty towers, houses and churches, he describes to have been like a hideous storm, and the atmosphere so hot as to be almost unbreathable. "God grant mine eyes may never again behold the like," writes the afflicted pious Evelyn, "who now saw above ten thousand houses all in one flame !"

THE scene of devastation became at last so hot that no one was able to approach it, so that people were compelled to be awe-struck spectators of a burning city nearly two miles in length, and one in breadth. The clouds of smoke were thick and dismal, and upon com-

putation nearly fifty miles in length. Pepys describes its appearance as "a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the flame of an ordinary fire."

THE King and the Duke of York did their duty in a manner becoming their station, and were rewarded by the gratitude of the sufferers and the commendation of historians. Evelyn and his brother Commissioners, under the King's command, began Pepys's recommendation of destroying some of the houses to stop the progress of the flames, particularly at the northern end of Fetter Lane, to save the upper part of Holborn, and distributed themselves with able bands of stout seamen, brought thither by Evelyn, to stay its devastations. The people also began to recover from their stupor, who till then stood as men intoxicated, with their hands crossed before them, and were at last convinced that nothing could arrest its progress, but the blowing up of so many houses as would make a wider gap than any which had hitherto been formed. Had this advice been followed at the first, Evelyn thinks might have saved nearly the whole City ; but, he has put it on record, that this wise counsel was rejected because* "some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, etc., would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first." It was then, at the eleventh hour, began, and Evelyn's great care being for St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he had many sick and wounded seamen from the late naval battle with the Dutch, and the Savoy Hospital in the Strand, where

* Diary, Sept. 5, 1666.

he had many others, under his care, he paid great attention to these depositaries of the wretched sufferers in that unfortunate war. "It now," writes this true patriot, "pleased God, by abating the wind, and by the industry of the people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so that it came no farther than the entrance of the Temple westward, nor than the entrance* to Smithfield northward : but continued all this day and night so impetuous towards Cripplegate and the Tower as made us all despair. It also broke out again at the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting and many houses being blown up, made such extensive gaps, that with the former three days consumption the back fire did not so vehemently rage as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins for nearly a furlong's space."

ON the 7th Mr. Evelyn went on foot from Whitehall to London Bridge through the late Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, by St. Paul's, the devastation of which he feelingly deploras, Cheapside, the Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate and out to Moorfields ; thence, through Cornhill and its vicinity with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of smoking ruins, and frequently mistaking the localities ; the surface was so hot that it burned his shoes.

WHILST the indefatigable Commissioner was thus employed in surveying the ruins of what was, but a

* Pie Corner in Giltspur Street.

few days before, London, the King, whose great exertions is commended in the previous day's entry, went from Whitehall to the Tower by water, where he landed and commanded an immediate demolition of the houses which stood close round the graff or moat, for had they taken fire, and attacked the white Tower which was the magazine and full of powder, it would have destroyed that ancient royal fortress, beaten down and demolished the bridge, and sunk or burned all the shipping in that part of the river.

SUCH, in brief, was the Fire of London, such the destruction of three days, to which de Benserade tuned his lyre, and Father Bouhours exultingly declaimed. To the purer mind of John Evelyn it recalled, indeed, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day, by the fury and extent of the conflagration; and also of the passage, "*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*:" "the ruins," he saying, "resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more."

CONCERNING the crime for which, as Le Benserade sung, Heaven, to justify* itself in the sight of the Universe, against the accusation of slowness in punishing the unpardonable sin of London there were different opinions, and the amiable poet has recorded his. Pride, vain-glory, avarice, debauchery and the deadliest of sins have been called in to testify against the prostrate City. That of gluttony must be remembered; not by producing its banquets and its feastings in support of the proposition, but that it began in Pudding

* See his Sonnet, page 225.

Lane and ended at Pie Corner. With like induction did Dean Hardy, on the Sunday next after "the Fire," in a sermon* at Pepys's parish church, inform his hearers that the extent of the calamity was such, that "the City was reduced from a large folio to a decimo-tertio."

WHATEVER may have been the cause of the Fire of London, no one will now doubt that the effects are, as described some years afterwards, in a letter from Dr. John Woodward, Professor of Physic in Gresham College, to Sir Christopher Wren. That "however disastrous it might have been to the then inhabitants, it proved infinitely beneficial to their posterity, and to the increase and vast improvement, as well as the riches and opulence of the buildings. And how by the means of the common sewers and other like contrivances, such provision was made for sweetness, cleanliness and salubrity, that it is not only the finest and pleasantest, but the most healthy city in the world; inasmuch as for the plague and other infectious distempers, with which it was formerly so frequently annoyed, and by which so great number of the inhabitants were taken off the year before the fire. An experience of above forty years since, hath shown it so wholly free from, that it is probable it will be no longer obnoxious to, or ever again likely to be infested by, those so fatal and malicious maladies." To Dr. Woodward's forty years' experience, we may now add nearly

* Nathaniel Hardy, D.D., Dean of Rochester. See Pepys's Diary, Sept. 9, 1666.

one hundred and fifty more, as additional proofs of the beneficial effects of the great fire upon the health and prosperity of the metropolis.

A new city was now to be built, and, as Dr. Sprat, while the ashes of the ruined city were smoking around him, said*, "on the most advantageous seat of all Europe for trade or command." Well did the King and his people apply themselves to the task, particularly the citizens of London, who showed a greatness of mind, a philosophy of endurance, and a pious resignation to the will of Heaven, amidst the smoking ashes of their hearths and ALTARS, surrounded by the green graves and mounds of the remains of their kinsfolks, called away by a fatal and unavoidable pestilence, and by the crowded hospitals of their sick and wounded countrymen in a calamitous war, worthy of all Greek or Roman fame, nay higher, it was worthy of their Christian profession. "If philosophers had done this," says the before-quoted historian of the Royal Society, "it had well become their profession of wisdom; if gentlemen, the nobleness of their breeding and blood would have required it: but that such greatness of heart should be found among the poor artizans, and the obscure multitude, is, no doubt, one of the most honourable events that ever happened."

THE fire, as we have seen, began in the night preceding the 3rd of September, was burning destructively till the 8th, and a heap of blazing embers on the 10th, yet on the 12th Evelyn laid before the King, a survey of

* In his *History of the Royal Society*, 4to. London, 1667, p. 122.

the ruins, a sketch for the new city, and a dissertation upon the best mode of performing so large a work.

ON the same day the Royal Society resumed its meetings amidst the smoking ruins. The President and Council were principally occupied in seeking a place for their future meetings, as Gresham College, which had escaped the flames, was to be occupied by the merchants, etc., as an exchange till the city should be rebuilt; and in distributing the four copies of Hevelius's second book on the late comets, which the author had sent to the Society for that purpose. The council awarded one to Lord Brouncker the President, and the others to Sir Paul Neile, Dr. Wren and Dr. Wallis. Hooke also presented a model, or plan for rebuilding the city, approved by the late and present Lord Mayors.

WREN, with his accustomed alacrity, and in accordance with the duties of his office, began a plan for building a new city on the site of the old one; and* presented it to the King and Council some days before that of Hooke, which caused some jealousy in the Society, that it had not been previously submitted to them for review and approbation, so as to have given the Society a name. These hints were gently insinuated to Wren, by its secretary Oldenburg, to which Wren answered, that he had been so pressed to hasten it, before other designs came in that he could not possibly consult the Society about it. The Secretary consoled

* See Mr. Oldenburg's letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle, dated Sept. 18, 1666, in Boyle's works, Vol. V. p. 358.

himself and the Society by the consideration, that as they could not be included in the joint honour of the plan, it must suffice that it was done by a member, and by what he saw, so done that others will not excel it. And he hoped that when it was laid before Parliament, as the author would be named, so his relation to the Society would not be omitted.

WHEN the business came before Parliament, there were three parties in the Houses of Commons, as to the best mode of proceeding. One was for an entire new arrangement, as proposed by Wren ; another for rebuilding it as before, but with brick, and the other for a fusion of the two by building a quay along the river, widening some of the streets, and rebuilding the others on the old foundations and vaults, but with brick. The greatest difficulty was, how to raise money to carry on the war, and to build the city at the same time.

WREN had now to abandon theories, lay by experiments, and apply his acquisitions to practice, as Deputy Surveyor General of His Majesty's works and principal architect for rebuilding the City, the Cathedral of St. Paul, all the parochial churches, companies' halls, and other public buildings of London. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that his communications to the Royal Society, were hereafter less frequent. He, however, presented a new and very simple level, so constructed that its whole circumference formed a true horizontal plane ; and consequently, that a dioptra laid upon it gave an exact level

in any azimuth without moving the instrument. Hooke, always Wren's imitator, presented also his level, the common spirit level of the present day. The detailed estimates of the losses occasioned by the fire, the costs of reinstatements and rebuilding, the reports and descriptions, etc. preparatory to the great work of rebuilding are all to be found in *Parentalia*, *Memoirs of Wren*, and *Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors*, but are too technical for the more miscellaneous nature of these pages.

ON St. Andrew's day 1666, the Royal Society elected Wren a member of their council, and Mr. Henry Howard*, of Norfolk, a fellow. This gentleman liberally accommodated the Society with apartments in his mansion, Arundel House, in the Strand, for its meetings during the occupation of Gresham College by the Citizens; and on the 9th January 1667, at the instigation of his friend Evelyn†, presented the Society with that noble library which his grandfather, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, especially, and his other ancestors had collected. The Society received this

* This Henry Howard was the second son of Henry, Earl of Arundel, and became, on the death of his brother Thomas, in 1677, the sixth Duke of Norfolk, having been previously created Baron Howard, of Castle Rising, in 1669, and advanced to the Earldom of Norwich, in 1672. In addition to his benefactions to the Royal Society, he presented the famous Arundelian marbles to the University of Oxford. He was a proud man, valued himself highly upon his birth and family, and always called and subscribed himself, "Henry Howard of Norfolk."

† See his diary of this date.

valuable gift with graceful thankfulness, and registered the liberal donor among their benefactors*.

THE most valuable portion of this library was purchased by the above mentioned Earl of Arundel, during his embassy at Vienna, in the reign of Charles I. It had been part of the collection of Matthew Corvinus, King of Hungary, made by him at Buda, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. After the death of that Prince in 1490, it went into the possession of the learned historian and soldier, Bilibald Pirckheimer, called by his countrymen the Xenophon of Nuremburg, who died in 1530. The conditions on which this gentleman made the donation were, only, that if a dissolution or failure of the Society should ever happen, the books should revert to his family, and that the inscription, "ex dono HENRICI HOWARD, Norfolciensis," should be lettered upon each of the books so presented; with permission to exchange any books that were duplicates, or unfit for the Society's use, for others of equal value, which exchanged books were also to be lettered with a similar inscription.

ON the 15th of January 1667, an Order of Council was issued, appointing a committee to superintend, and a sub-committee, consisting of the architect and former commissioners, to execute the reparation of the damaged cathedral, which were finally abandoned, and a new building determined on. The occupations connected with rebuilding the city gave Wren a fine opportunity of ascertaining the size and site of the

* BIRCH'S History of the Royal Society, Vol. II. page 136.

ancient Roman city, which he did in an interesting paper, printed in *Parentalia*, and the before-mentioned *Memoirs*. He continued to attend and make communications to the Society, and inaugurated its first meeting in Arundel House, by a paper on various methods of ascertaining the diameters of planets, calculated to seconds.

OCCUPIED as Wren was in his architectural works, more numerous and important than ever, before or since, devolved upon one man, there is scarcely a meeting of the Royal Society recorded in which papers and experiments in astronomy, anatomy, physics, etc., by him and applications to him from the Council, are not recorded.

THIS year the Royal Society lost one of the earliest and most distinguished members, ABRAHAM COWLEY, who stands at the head of the metaphysical poets of England. On his admission as a Fellow, he addressed the Society in a Pindaric ode, which is prefixed to Dr. Sprat's History of that body, and dedicated to them his "Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy." The poet had retired from court to enjoy his latter years, to a farm near Chertsey, granted to him by the King. But neither his body nor his mind were suited to agricultural occupations. One evening, on returning from a convivial visit to a friend in the neighbourhood, with his friend Sprat, both being on foot, and unacquainted with the locality, they lost their way among the damp meadows of that marshy place, which brought on the poet a violent cold and

fever, which terminated his mortal life on the 27th July 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Evelyn, who knew him well, calls him an incomparable poet, and a virtuous man, his very dear friend. On the 3rd August, the poet's earthly remains were removed from Wallingford House*, where it had lain in state, to its earthly resting place in Westminster Abbey, where they were deposited next to Chaucer, and near to Spencer. The hearse drawn by six horses, and, as Evelyn who was there, says, with all funeral decency, was followed by nearly a hundred coaches of the nobility and gentry, with all the scholars, wits and philosophers of the day, and several bishops and clergymen.

WREN began the year 1668 by continuing his labours in rebuilding the city, by attendances and communications to the Royal Society, conducting the works of the Sheldonian Theatre, and his customary lectures as Savillian professor of Astronomy at Oxford. Mr. Howard of Norfolk, presented the Society with a piece of ground one hundred feet long, and forty feet deep, whereon to build a college, towards the building of which they were possessed of above a thousand pounds contributed. Wren was written to at Oxford to prepare the drawings, and to attend Mr. Howard with them. Wren's answer, which contains a full description of his design is in the letter-book† of the Royal Society, and

* A mansion then standing on the site of the present Admiralty Offices, Whitehall.

† Vol. II. p. 220.

my Memoirs*. The Society also appointed him one of a select committee to examine and report on Dr. Wilkins's *Essay towards a real character and a philosophical language*. Towards the close of the year Wren produced to the Society, his theory of the collision of bodies, with details of various experiments made to verify his hypothesis, which were so favourably received, that they were ordered to be registered†, and were subsequently published in the Philosophical Transactions‡.

THE year 1669 in London, is almost a repetition of its predecessor, the King, the commissioners and their architect proceeding in their laborious occupations of clearing the ruins, settling disputed claims, building the smaller streets and edifices, setting out, and preparing for the greater. The Surveyor General, Sir John Denham's infirmities increasing, he deputed Wren to be his nominal deputy, to execute the office of Surveyor General of his Majesty's works; which appointment was confirmed by the King's letters patent, under the privy seal, on the death of Sir John Denham. The patent is dated March 28, 1669.

IN this year Wren presented the world, through the Royal Society, with a paper relative to his discovery of a right line equal to a cycloid, and added continually to their stock of experimental knowledge. In addition to the architectural works on which he was engaged,

* Page 237.

† Register Vol. IV. p. 29.

‡ Vol. III. No. 43.

he was commissioned by Archbishop Sancroft, to design and execute the chapel of Emanuel College, Cambridge, which he began this year ; as well as the new Custom House, London. After many attempts to patch and repair the remains of Old St. Paul's, contrary to Wren's advice and opinion, which was, that being a ruin of two thousand years old, to repair it by degrees, would leave none of the ancient building ; it was determined to clear away all the ruins, and build a new Cathedral ; and a new commission was issued for that purpose. Wren was also employed at this time in the reparation of Salisbury Cathedral, but he was not happy in his Gothic works, which was a style of architecture he neither loved nor understood.

HOBBS of Malmesbury, who had been teacher of mathematical philosophy to Charles II. in his youth, had been engaged in a controversy relative to the quadrature of the circle, and published a work on that much-debated subject, which proved him to have been but little skilled in mathematics, however profound he might have been as a metaphysician. Dr. Wallis undertook to combat the Leviathan of the day, and satisfactorily demolished his hypothesis, in the work* which he published this year, and presented twelve copies to the Society, for its library, president, secretaries, Sir Robert Moray, Sir John Lowther, Dr. Wren, Messrs. Hoskins, Hooke and Collins. Experiments were continued confirmatory of Wren's laws of motion, from which was

* THOMAS HOBBS *quadratura circuli, cubatio, spheræ, duplicatio cubi, confutata.* Oxon. 4to. 1669.

deduced, that motion cannot be decreased or increased infinitely, but that there are limits set both for the increase and decrease of all the motion in the world. Letters were received by the Society from Huygens in Paris, Slusius, from Liege, and from other eminent Philosophers on the Continent, in commendation and corroboration of Wren's demonstration of the hyperbolic cycloid, his laws of motion and other important discoveries which then occupied all the learned men in Europe.

THE Royal Exchange was finished and opened to the public in the September of this year, and is remembered by the merchants and others who frequented it before its destruction by fire in 1838, as a handsome, useful and commodious edifice. The buildings in London, Oxford and Cambridge, and the attendances at the Royal Society, occupied the whole of Wren's time. In addition to these he was appointed, with Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, Sir Robert Moray, Drs. Wallis, Goddard, and Hooke, to be a committee to ascertain the best way of determining the measure of a degree upon the earth's surface. In fact Wren's name is found in every important measure of the Society.

THE sudden and mysterious death of the Princess Henrietta Anne of England, sister of Charles II., and married, shortly after his restoration, to Philip, Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis XIV., has been before alluded to. The circumstances preceding and following this melancholy event, which occurred on

the 29th June 1670, were much discussed at this period of our history, but, for reasons of state policy, were kept as private, and as much within the precincts of the two courts as was possible. It was as impenetrable to the world as the scandalous partition treaty between the Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV., of which the former was so thoroughly ashamed that he insisted there should be only one copy executed, and that one kept in an iron chest with only two keys, one for the most Christian King, and the other for the holy Roman Emperor. But as the French say, *les murailles ont des oreilles*, and writers of memoirs for history, diaries, original letters, and such like contemporaries, noted down at the time, facts that did not publicly transpire till the third and fourth generations of those who acted in this sad eventful history.

A LETTER of Bishop Bossuet, printed, I believe, for the first time in that evergreen Patriarch of periodical literature, THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE*, from the memoirs of Philibert de la Mare†, gives an account of the last moments of the unhappy Princess. The letter is dated July 1670, without the day being mentioned.

FROM this letter we learn that the pious and

* August 1851. Page 117.

† This author was Counsellor in the Parliament of Dijon, and considered equal to the President De Thou, for the elegance of his Latin writings, among which are "Comment. de Bello Burgundico," which forms a part of his "Historicorum Burgundiæ conspectus," 4to. 1689, and a life, in Latin, of the able diplomatist and accomplished scholar, Hubert Languet, the friend of Zuinglius, the literary assistant of Gaspar Peucer, and the correspondent of Sir Philip Sidney.

eloquent prelate, was called up in the night between Sunday and Monday, by order of the Duke, that he might go to the assistance of the Duchess, who was dying at St. Cloud, and earnestly desired to see him. In estimating the value of the Bishop's evidence, it should be remembered, that he had at that time just surrendered his Bishoprick of Condom, to become an inmate of the palace as preceptor to the Dauphin, which led him naturally to look forward to those dignities, honours and emoluments, which such an appointment would, and did lead to, on the emancipation of his royal pupil from his state of tutelage.

BEFORE entering the dying chamber of this young and unfortunate lady, let us review her short, but eventful life. She was born at Exeter, the temporary residence of the royal family, after their wanderings in the civil war between the King and the Parliament, just before the decisive battle of Nazeby ; suffered such privations when in exile with her mother, in France, as to have been compelled to lie in bed for want of means to procure a fire, and sometimes, even food ; was married after the restoration of her brother to the throne of England, to the Duke of Orleans, in 1661 ; revisited England in May 1670, on a confidential political mission from Louis XIV. to her brother, accompanied by the handsome Mademoiselle de Quenouailles, passed a fortnight in the important business with him at Dover, left the young lady as *chargé d'affaires*, and resident minister at the Court of St. James ; Mademoiselle de Quenouailles acquitted her-

self so well that she was made Duchess of Portsmouth, and Charles's sister, having accomplished her mission, went back to France and died a few days after her return.

THE Duke de St. Simon*, in the supplement† to his "OBSERVATEUR VERDIQUE *sur la regne du Louis XIV.*," etc. and in the first volume of his memoirs of the same epoch, gives a detailed account of the whole affair, from the best authorities. Her gaieties, he says, created jealousy in her husband, whose opposite tastes and manners displeased her. His favourites, whom she hated, sowed so much discord between them, that the Duke was anything but comfortable at home. The Chevalier de Lorraine, a young, handsome and agreeable rake, governed the Duke and his whole establishment, and endeavoured to make the Duchess also feel his power. Madame, who was but a year younger than the gay Chevalier, would not submit to his domination; and as she was in high favour with the King, she complained to him, and procured de Lorraine's banishment. The Princess Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, the second wife of the Duke of Orleans, gives the follow-

* Louis de Revroi, Duke de St. Simon, the son of a nobleman of the same rank and title, was introduced to the Court of Louis XIV. in his fifteenth year, maintained a fair moral reputation as a courtier and a good character for bravery as a soldier, went as Ambassador to Spain, and after long public service retired to his estates; where he collected and wrote his memoirs, with a strong feeling of morality and religion. The best edition is that of Strasburg 1791, 13 vols. 8vo.

† Tom I. p. 134.

ing account of this family quarrel*, in one of her letters. Madame de C * * * * was at that time the mistress of the Chevalier de Lorraine ; and by her attractions caused Marshal Turenne to fall in love with her. As she was in the confidence of the young Duchess, who told her everything about England, she reported these secrets to the Marshal and M. de Lorraine. The latter recounted them to the Duke, with the addition that the Duchess had spoken desparagingly of him to the King ; and that if he did not silence her, all his influence at Court would be lost, and he could not answer for the consequences, if such intercourse was continued. The Duke wished to know all from the Duchess, who refused to tell him the secrets of her brother the King of England, and the conference ended in perfect discord. The Duchess was exasperated and caused the dismissal of the Chevalier de Lorraine and his brother, the Count de Marsan. This, says the widowed Duchess, cost this Princess her life.

ON learning the result of this domestic strife, the Duke fainted, burst into tears, hastened to throw himself at the feet of the King, his brother, prayed him to revoke the sentence of banishment, which had overwhelmed him with despair. He did not succeed ; he returned in rage, threatened vengeance against the

* “Fragmens des Lettres originales de Madame Charlotte Elizabeth, veuve de Monsieur,” Paris 1788 and 1823, 8vo. These letters are addressed to Duke Ulric of Bavaria and the Princess of Wales between the years 1715 and 1720, and throw much light on the history of the reign of Louis XIV.

King and the Duchess ; when after a few days, and some compliments from his royal brother, he resumed his former manner towards both.

THE MARQUIS D'EFFIAT, a man of a daring spirit, chief equerry to the Duke of Orleans, and the Count de Beuvrons, a pliant and obliging person, who wished to stand well with the Duke, being a captain in his regiment of guards, and moreover a poor younger brother of a proud Norman family, were strongly linked by interest with the Chevalier De Lorraine, whose absence from Court disarranged their affairs, and made them fear lest some other favourite should be found to supply his place, who would not be so useful to them.

Nor one of the three indulged any hope of the termination of this exile. The increasing favour of the King towards the Duchess, began to interfere with their affairs and caused increased jealousy. The cause of this gracious conduct of the King, arose from his desire to gain the alliance of England, and he well knew the fraternal love of Charles II. for his sister. To accomplish this end, the Duchess and her beautiful *aide-de-chambre* were despatched on the before-mentioned mysterious trip to Dover ; whence she returned alone and in triumph on the 12th June 1670, with her influence more in the ascendant than ever, full of spirits and hope, and in the enjoyment of the most perfect health. This triumphant ovation of the successful ambassadress extraordinary, was a death-blow to the hopes of return to M. De Lorraine and his allies. The

banished Chevalier carried his spite through Italy and to Rome. The Duke De St. Simon, speaking in his own proper person, says, he knows not which of the three, first made the proposition, but the Chevalier De Lorraine sent to his two friends a prompt and certain poison, by a courier who, perhaps, was unacquainted with the nature of his despatch.

THE Duchess was at St. Cloud, and being in the habit of taking occasionally, about seven o'clock in the evening, a glass of chicory water, a page of the chamber had the charge of making and taking care of it; and kept it in a cabinet in one of the antichambers of the Duchess' own room, together with her glass. This beverage was kept in a porcelain cup, with another filled with plain water by its side to dilute it, if required. This antichamber was the general passage to Madame's room, and no one was allowed to wait therein, because there were others for that purpose. The Marquis d'Effiat made himself acquainted with all these circumstances; and on the evening of the 29th of June, in passing by this anti-room, he found the happy moment he looked for, nobody within it, and that he was followed by no one. He turned aside to the cabinet, opened it, and threw something in; when hearing footsteps he took up the cup of chicory water, and as he replaced it, the page who had the charge of the beverage, cried out, ran to him and asked him, sharply, what business he had to open the cabinet? D'Effiat, without the least embarrassment, asked pardon, and told the attendant, that being parched with thirst, and knowing that there was

water therein, showing the jug of water, he could not resist taking a little. The page continued to complain, and the other to appease ; when excusing himself from paying his respects to Madame, he retired, and began conversing with the other courtier in the waiting-room, without the slightest emotion. What followed an hour after, astonished and afflicted every one. The Duchess died the following day at three o'clock in the morning !

THIS portion of the tragedy is confirmed by the second Duchess of Orleans, who could not have seen St. Simon's Memoirs, inasmuch as they remained in manuscript till 1788*. This lady states†, that it was not the chicory water that they poisoned, but the silver-gilt goblet which held it, and which could not be found when enquired for after Madame was taken ill. They at once thought it was lost, or taken away to remove all marks of the deadly poison. She further states that a *valet-de-chambre*, whom she had in her service many years, and who was in the service of the former Duchess at the time of her death, and was much attached to her, often spoke to her on the melancholy catastrophe. He said, that on that unhappy day, while the Duke of Orleans was at mass, D'Effiat opened the cabinet, took out the Duchess' goblet and rubbed it with a paper ; that he, the *valet-de-chambre*‡, called out to him—" Sir ! what are you

* Eight thick 4to. Volumes.

† *Fragmens de Lettres originales.*

‡ This must have been the page mentioned by the Duke de St. Simon.

doing in our cabinet, and why do you touch Madame's goblet?" to which the intruder replied, that being very thirsty, he looked for something to drink, and seeing the goblet dusty, he wiped it off with the paper. After dinner, the Duchess asked for the chicory-water, and as soon as she had drank it, she cried out—"I am poisoned!" All who were present drank of the same beverage, but not out of the same cup. The Duchess grew worse every minute, was carried to bed, the agonizing pains increasing till she expired about two hours after, in the most frightful sufferings.

MADemoiselle DE MONTPENSIER, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII., relates in her memoirs*, that as soon as the death of the Duchess was known, all the physicians and surgeons of the King, as well as those of the Duke and Duchess were called in to a *post mortem* examination. When the body was opened they found all the most important parts perfectly sound and healthy, which surprised them, as the Duchess was delicate and mostly ailing. The English† Ambassador, Lord Montagu, was present at the examination, which ended in a report that her death was caused by a species of colick, which they called *cholera morbus*.

IN another letter of the Duke's widow, she says, those who were engaged in this infamous plot, discussed

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orleans de Montpensier, 8 vol. 12mo.

† Ralph Montagu, the third Lord Montagu of Boughton, created Earl in 1689 and Duke in 1705. He was Ambassador from 1668 to 1672.

whether they should acquaint the Duke with it or not. One of the three decided the point by saying "No! he will have us hanged for it, were it ten years afterwards." It was well known, she says, that such was the language of these wretches. They, therefore, made the Duke believe, that the Dutch had administered a slow poison to the unfortunate Princess, which did not take effect till that particular time. As to the poison, she says, it was in vain to deny it, for there were three holes corroded in her stomach.

SHE further writes, that one Morel* was the inter-medial agent who brought the poison from Rome, and to recompense this confidential service, he was placed on the establishment of the second Duchess, from whose letters the preceding extract is made, as chief *maitre d'hôtel*. This man, after robbing her to the utmost of his power, sold his appointment for a large sum. She describes him as being possessed with the spirit of a demon, a man devoid of all faith and fearless of all law. At his death, he would allow no one to mention the name of God to him, and, speaking of himself, said, "leave my carcass alone, it is good for nothing." He stole, he lied, he perjured himself, he proclaimed his atheism, abandoned himself to the vilest debaucheries and the most revolting excesses. Such is the widowed Duchess' description of one of the conspirators against her predecessor's life.

THE Abbé de Choisy, whose father was Chancellor to Gaston Duke of Orleans, and himself brought up

* The courier before alluded to.

in the family, also gives an account of this event*. He was at that time in his sixth and twentieth year, was versed in all the debaucheries of this peculiarly-profligate family, and, although a member of "the company of the blessed Jesus," a priest and abbé of the Roman Catholic Church and Dean of the Cathedral of Bayeux, lived for several years in female attire, visiting and visited under the name of the Countess des Barres, indulging in all the libertinism this scandalous disguise afforded. After publishing a translation of David's psalms, a history of the Church, and other religious works, he closed his career with *Memoirs of the Countess des Barres*, a shameless history of his adventures under that name and disguise†. "Thanks be to God!" said this very reverend dignitary of the Romish Church, "I have finished my History of the Church—I will now go and set about studying it."

THIS historian relates that the Princess found herself ill, one summer's evening at St. Cloud, after having partaken of a drink given to her by an attendant. Her death caused a general grief; the most afflicted were the officers of her household, who feared the loss of their appointments. The widowed Duke removed their fears by promising that on his remarrying, they should occupy the same places under the new Duchess of Orleans that they held under the late Princess.

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV. par François Timoleon Abbé de Choisy.*

† D'ALEMBERT *Hist. des Membres de l'Academie.*

These poor folk, says the Abbé, waited the result of this promise in great pecuniary distress, not having saved any thing in the service. One of them, however, retired to Paris, rich, and purchased a house in that city, where, with a handsome establishment, he passed the remainder of his days, in apparent tranquillity.

IN the following year, the Duke having married the Princess Palatine of Bavaria, who was the mother of the Regent Orleans, presented her with a list of the servants of the late Duchess, saying that none had died since their late mistress. In looking over the list, Madame perceived one place vacant and enquired the reason. As for that, Madam, replied the Duke, he is well, but I believe will never serve you ; he had been her head butler. According to all appearances, says the Abbé, the Lady Duchess never dared to fathom this answer further.

M. LE MARQUIS DE PAULIMY confirms* this account of De Choisy, as far as relates to the wealthy official, saying that he was acquainted with persons who well knew this former servant of the Duchess Henrietta. He never began to talk about the Court of the Duke, and, although he lived in Paris, he never went either to the Palais-Royal, St. Cloud or Versailles ; and was always troubled when his former mistress was named in his presence.

M. DE VOLTAIRE†, in his history of this period, which

* Essais dans le gout de Montagne, par M. le Marquis de Paulimy.

† Siecle de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV.

he wrote in quality of historiographer to Louis XV. regardless of facts, apologizes and sneers at the event, rather than give a faithful narration of facts, the materials of which were within his reach. He says, "it is pretended that the Chevalier de Lorraine, the favourite of Monsieur, to avenge himself for an exile and imprisonment brought upon him by his blameable conduct towards Madame, caused this horrible vengeance. They forgot that M. de Lorraine was then in Rome, and that it is extremely difficult for a Knight of Malta of twenty years of age*, residing in Rome, to purchase in Paris the death of a great Princess." This is the assertion of an advocate, not the summing up of an historian, who, like a judge, should decide on the evidence of facts, not the assertions of counsel.

LET us return to the chamber of the dying Princess. The writer of the before-mentioned article in the Gentleman's Magazine, says, in his introduction to Bossuet's letter, "she herself believed she was poisoned. The English Ambassador, Montagu†, writing home to Charles II. says, I asked her then if she believed herself poisoned. Her confessor, that was by, understood that word, and told her, 'Madam, you must accuse nobody, but offer up your death to God as a sacrifice.' So she would never answer me that question, though I asked several times, but would

* M. de Voltaire forgets that the Chevalier de Lorraine was born in 1643, and was then seven-and-twenty years of age, and skilled in all the mysteries of the Palais-Royal, improved by Italian travel.

† See note to page 251.

shrink up her shoulders." From a letter written* by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, to his wife on this subject, may be gathered the opinions of the best informed persons ; and it appears from Bishop Burnet and his annotators, that the impression of her being poisoned by her husband, was universally believed.

BOSSUET was, according to his before-mentioned letter, immediately sent for to the dying Princess. He found her quite sensible, talking and doing various things without trouble, ostentation or excitement. She had already received all the sacraments and extreme unction, at her own request, that it might be administered whilst she was sensible. The Bishop remained by her side an hour, and witnessed her last breath, keeping the crucifix, which she held in her hand, to her lips till the last suspiration. All that she said to the King, to the Duke, and to those who stood around her couch, the Bishop says, was brief, to the point and in an excellent feeling ; but he gives no account of it. This deficiency is however supplied by her successor, the Princess Charlotte Elizabeth, who says†, in relation to the reports raised by her enemies as to her gallantries, that which more convinced her of the Duchess Henrietta's innocence was, that after she had received the last sacraments, she asked pardon of her husband for all the inquietude she had caused him, assured him she had strong hope of salvation, because, in the main,

* See Gentleman's Magazine for July 1773, p.p. 324-5.

† *Fragmens de Lettres originales.*

she had never offended against him. The Bishop relates the grief and agony of the King, and the Duke, and that he had received his Majesty's commands to deliver the funeral oration at St. Denis in three weeks.

IN this oration, the Bishop, among other praises says that this illustrious Princess so well understood the beauties of works of genius, that those who could please her taste, felt that they had attained perfection.

— Under a smiling countenance, under an air so youthful, that it seemed to promise nothing but playfulness, there was concealed a mind and a gravity, which surprised all who conversed with her.—She gave, not only with pleasure, but with a greatness of soul, which marked at once her contempt of the gift, and her estimation of the person on whom she bestowed it.—When any one discoursed with her, it appeared as if she had forgotten her rank, and seemed to sustain herself by reason alone.

ONE would scarcely perceive, he says, that they were speaking to one so elevated, and would only feel from the bottom of their heart, that they would willingly render her a hundred times the greatness she had so condescendingly laid down. Of her last moments, the orator said, she looked sweetly upon death, as she had towards the whole world. Her great soul was neither embittered nor disquieted by it : nor did she brave death rudely, but contented herself with facing it without emotion and without fear. Sad consolation ! that with all this great magnanimity we have lost her ! It shows the vanity of human affairs ;

that after the last effort of our courage—after we have, so to speak, overcome the bitterness of death, it extinguishes even that courage by which we seem to defy it.

THE King, says the Duke de St. Simon, had suspicions both of the page who had the charge of the goblets, and Purnon, the Duke's chief *maitre d'hotel*, who had in early life been in the service of the Marquis d'Effiat, the person who had meddled with the goblets. His Majesty sent for Major Brissac the commandant of his body-guard, a faithful old soldier, and commanded him to go with six of his trustiest men, and bring Purnon to him in his cabinet with as much secrecy as possible. As soon as the King saw him, he dismissed Brissac and his first *valet de chambre*, assumed an air and tone of severity, and surveying him from head to foot, said, "My friend, listen to me attentively. If you will avow all, and answer me truly as to what I would know from you concerning what you have done, I will pardon you, and never mention the circumstance. But be careful, conceal nothing from me, for if you do, you die before you leave this place. Was not Madame poisoned?" "Yes, sire," replied Purnon. "Eh! who poisoned her?" asked the King, "and how was it done?" Purnon replied that the Chevalier de Lorraine sent the poison to M.M. d'Effiat and Beuvron, and related the foregoing circumstances. "Ah! my brother," said the King, "did he know of it?" "No, Sire," replied the man, "neither of us was fool enough to tell him; he is not in the secret; were he so, we should be lost men." On this reply, the King gave a great ah! like one op-

pressed, and then respired. "Go," said he, "that is all I wanted to know, but assure me that you have spoken the truth." He then called Brissac, told him to take that man away, and shortly after, gave him his liberty.

It was this man, says M. de St. Simon, that many years afterwards related these facts to M. Joly de Fleury Procurator-General of the Parliament, from whom he learned these frightful details. The same magistrate informed him, further, that after the second marriage of the Duke the King drew the new Duchess apart, told her of the circumstance, and assured her, both for his brother and for himself, that he was too much a man of probity, to permit her to marry his brother if he had been capable of such a crime. Madame took advantage of the information. Purnon was re-established as principal *maitre d'hotel*; by degrees she began to enter into the expenses of the house, which pleased the Duke, but annoyed Purnon so much, that it forced him to sell his appointment at the end of 1676, to the before-mentioned Sieur Morel de Vaulonne.

LET those persons who think with De Voltaire, that it was difficult for a young knight of Malta, residing in Rome, and burning with rage at the greatest indignity a courtier of the reign of Louis XIV. could suffer—exile, to purchase the secret murder of a great Princess at Paris in 1670, reflect upon the religion, morals and habits of that distinguished court. Let them remember the history of Olympia de Mancini, *niece* of the Cardinal de Mazarin, afterwards the notorious Countess de

Soisons. Let them peruse the infernal history of the Marchioness de Brinvilliers and her paramour Goden St. Croix, whose extensive and dexterous practice in the royal and noble art of secret poisoning almost surpasses belief. St. Croix learned the secrets of this science from an Italian named Exili or Essuli, who taught him to compound the most subtle and mortal poisons. So deadly were they, that on the glass mask falling from the face of St. Croix, whilst employed in its concoction, the fumes killed him instantly, and caused the knowledge of the demonical practices of this illustrious pair to transpire, and led the survivor to the scaffold. This woman in this very year, 1670, secretly poisoned her father, sister, and two brothers, which crimes were not discovered till this providential accident.

FRENCH history is full of these secret empoisonments, or of sudden deaths, so mysterious as to cause grave suspicions of such unnatural and atrocious crimes. Among others of this period, witness the two Dauphins and the Dauphiness, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and other children and grand children of this most magnificent and most miserable of modern monarchs. It was the misfortune of this enormously-flattered man to witness the end of his whole family by premature deaths. His queen died in the forty-fifth year of her age ; Louis, his only legitimate son, whose title is best remembered by the admirable edition of the Latin classics, which were prepared for his use in his pupilage, died in April 1711, at the age of fifty ; his eldest

son, the Duke of Burgundy, his wife, and their eldest son, the Duke of Brittany, also died, within twelve months after the *grand Dauphin*, as he was called, and were buried in one tomb in the royal cemetery of St. Denis in April 1714 ; Charles, Duke of Berry, died within two years of his brother, and his only child passed from the cradle to the tomb the same year ; whilst the youngest child of the Duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his great grandfather as Louis XV. was a feeble infant, and more than once at death's door. Such was the domestic happiness of LOUIS LE GRAND !

THE cause and manner of the death of this English Princess, sister of Charles II. and wife of the brother of Louis XIV. is a matter of grave importance to the Historian ; and its occurrence at that particular time adds suspicion to a fact that deserves a full investigation. For it must occur to every attentive reader of the political events which preceded and followed it, to ask, what was the nature and object of the mission from the Monarch of France to the King of England, that could be entrusted to no one but the beloved sister of the latter, a daughter, by marriage of France, and her fair seductive *attachée* Mademoiselle Louise de Quenouaille, the Miss Baby-face of Evelyn, and the subsequent Duchess of Portsmouth in the British Peerage ? And why, when the secret service was performed, that lively tongue, whose communicativeness, we have seen, was both censured and feared, was to be silenced, instantly and for ever ? And why, Charles, whose love for this sister is so well known, was also

put to silence ? These are grave and important questions and not to be answered rashly.

IN this year, 1670, an act of parliament was passed imposing a duty of three shillings a chaldron upon all coals brought into the Port of London ; one moiety to be applied for the use of the City, and the other towards rebuilding St. Paul's, and the parochial churches, and to continue till Michælmas day 1687. The building of these edifices occupied the greater portion of Wren's time ; and particularly in laying down the lines for the construction of an extensive quay from London Bridge to the Temple, a handsome and useful work, which private cupidity, alone, prevented.

THE first meeting of the Royal Society, January 12, 1671, was signalized by a royal wager*, communicated by Sir Robert Moray, by which the King betted fifty pounds to five against the President and Fellows of the Royal Society, on the best method of compressing air by water, which the loyal society permitted their royal patron to win. At the next meeting Wren produced his demonstration of the line formed by an arch constructed to support a given weight, a theory of which he happily availed himself, in the construction of his great Cathedral. In March, Leibnitz sent over a portion of his "*Theoria motus concreti*," which he was desirous of dedicating to the Society, for their opinion. Boyle, Wren, Wallis and Hooke were appointed examiners of this new physical hypothesis, for solving the phenomena of nature, and

* BIRCH's History of the Royal Society. Vol. II. Page 463.

were desired to report upon it. In April Wren and Hooke were commissioned to determine the most proper figure or portion of a sphere or parabola that would converge the rays of the sun into a point, for a burning concave mirror. In May the Society received a communication from M. Mariotte, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, on the science of levelling, and of some new methods of operation used in France. The manuscript was delivered to Wren for examination and opinion. At the last meeting of the Society, this year the Bishop of Salisbury* proposed ISAAC NEWTON, M.A. Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge†, as a fit and proper person to be admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. Wren this year began his large Doric column, near London Bridge, commemorative of the great fire ; upon the summit of which a bronze statue of Charles II. was originally intended to have been erected. He also began the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, and continued his multifarious pursuits with zeal and ability. Among these avocations were numerous applications, petitions and memorials to the Privy Council, many of which, with his decisions are printed in the before-quoted memoirs, from the original manuscript transactions of that body, which then belonged to me, and is now in the Soanëan Museum.

EARLY in 1671, Evelyn discovered that rare genius in art, Grinling Gibbons, in a small house at Deptford,

* SETH WARD, D.D., F.R.S. Etc. BIRCH's History. Vol. II. Page 501.

† He had just succeeded to that chair on the resignation of Dr. Isaac Barrow, and had delivered his "*Lectiones Opticæ*."

working on a carved copy of Tintoretto's picture of the Crucifixion, which he caused to be shown to Wren, Pepys, Baptist May, and other competent judges of art, and afterwards to be taken to Whitehall, where it was seen and much admired by the King, the Duke of York, and the Court. The King, says Evelyn*, no sooner cast his eye upon it than he was astonished, and having considered it for a long time, and discoursed with Gibbons about it, he ordered it to be carried into the Queen's bed-chamber, where the King admired it again ; but being called away, left Evelyn and Gibbons with the Queen, believing, from the subject, she would have bought it. When the King was gone, one Madame de Boord, whom Evelyn calls a " French peddling woman, who used to bring petticoats and fans and baubles out of France to the Ladies, began to find fault with several things in the work, which she understood no more than an ass or a monkey." Evelyn was so indignant at this conduct, and at the attention which the Queen paid to her chattering milliner, that he ordered the sculpture to be removed back to the artist's " poor solitary thatched house in a field," near Evelyn's house, Saye's Court, Deptford, the artist having been, probably, a ship's carver. This distinguished critic and able artist describes this first known work of Gibbons as one which, for curiosity of handling, drawing and studious exactness, he had never seen in all his travels. The original painting he had himself seen at Venice, and brought home a copy of it, therefore was

* Diary, March 1, 1671.

well acquainted with the subject on which the obscure artist was at work. Evelyn, with a desire to serve him, enquired the price. Gibbons being as he said, but a beginner, valued it at one hundred pounds, which the enquirer thought so moderate that the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong. The piece, in alto and mezzo-rilievo, had more than one hundred figures of men, etc. in its composition. It was subsequently purchased for eighty pounds, by Sir Robert Viner, one of the Lord Mayors whose name figures in Adam Littleton the lexicographer's seven-storied line of his proposed inscription for "the monument," descriptive of the seven illustrious Prætors in whose mayoralties it was began, continued and ended. This ingenious heptastegon runs thus—

"FORDO-WATERMANNO-HANSONO-HOOKERO-VINERO-SHELDONO-DAVISIONAM."

FROM the fire of London in 1666, till the end of the year 1711, the life of Wren was one uninterrupted scene of useful, honourable and important activity. In that period he designed and built fifty-three parish churches in London, besides reparations and additions to many others; repaired and added to the Castle of Windsor, the Cathedrals of Salisbury and Chichester, and Westminster Abbey, built the palace called "the King's House, at Winchester," many of the large and handsome mansions of the opulent city merchants, Aldermen and Mayors, who then resided and gave their

splendid hospitalities in their own houses, besides the Cathedral of St. Paul, the Royal Exchange, the public halls of the incorporated City Companies, the modern roof and ceiling of Guildhall, built over it in haste, and for immediate use, and evidently a temporary covering, and his before-mentioned and other works in Oxford and Cambridge. What man, beside Wren, ever did so much and so well ?

WREN began his fortieth year in connection with the illustrious Isaac Newton, who on the 11th of January 1672, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society*, and communicated an account of light and colours, which they published in their Philosophical Transactions. Newton, on the day of his admission, presented his improved telescope, which he had reduced from the gigantic tube of Galileo, to moderate and useable dimensions, for the examination and opinion of the Society. Wren, Hooke, Sir Paul Neile, Sir Robert Moray and the President had previously investigated the improved instrument at Whitehall Palace, by command of the King, and reported so favourably on its merits that they transmitted a description and diagrams of it to Christian Huygenst, the celebrated Dutch mathematician and astronomer, who, by his own improvements on the same invention, had discovered Saturn's ring and other important astronomical pheno-

* BIRCH's Hist. Vol. III. p. 1.

† He was author of a Latin Treatise on the Plurality of Worlds, and the probability of the planets being inhabited, published after his death, in 1698.

mena, who was residing in Paris, and was a member both of the French Academy and the English Society.

NEWTON'S various philosophical discoveries and theories now occupied the attention of the Society. The ingenious but jealous Hooke became the principal opposer of the new Fellow, and obtained the unenviable distinction of the Newtono-mastix, although his censures were by no means confined to the great father of the exact sciences, but extended impartially to Boyle, Wren, Evelyn, Flamsteed and other members of the Society. After many disputations, both in the Society and by letters, upon Newton's theory of light and colours, Oldenburg, the secretary, read an answer from the philosopher to his impugner, which was ordered to be entered on their minutes, and was afterwards published in their Philosophical Transactions*.

ON the 11th of June, this year, the Royal Society lost a distinguished member, and Wren an affectionate relative, by the death of his cousin, Matthew Wren, eldest son of the persecuted Bishop of Ely. After the restoration of Charles II. he was returned member for the borough of St. Michael, in Cornwall, became Secretary to Lord Clarendon, and was one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society. After the retirement of his first patron, he was appointed Secretary to the Duke of York, in which capacity he prevented a duel between the Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Pepys, and Sir James Barkman von Leyenberg, who had been the Swedish Ambassador in London for some years, and

* Vol. VII., No. 88, for November 1672.

had married the widow of Sir William Batten, Commissioner of the Navy, who died largely in Pepys's debt, for which the widow was liable. Owing to some dispute concerning this money, Pepys sent a hostile message to the Swede, but the meeting was prevented by a letter* from Matthew Wren to Pepys, which states that the King having heard of some dispute between him and the Resident of Sweden, had signified his pleasure that he should neither send any challenge to the said Resident, nor accept of any from him; and as soon as he had received that letter, he was immediately to attend the Lord Arlington, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State. Mr. Matthew Wren's published works were principally political†, including a sharp controversy with Harrington, about his *Oceana*, and an historical essay "On the Origin and Progress of Revolutions in England."

THE Society lost also this year, by death, two other distinguished Fellows. Francis Willughby the celebrated naturalist, the pupil and friend of Ray, whom he accompanied in a continental tour in 1663 and 1664. He paid particular attention to ornithology and ichthyology, and formed a rich museum of animal and fossil productions. He wrote two able works‡ on his fa-

* The original is in the Bodleian Library, and printed in Pepys's Correspondence, November 9, 1670.

† See my Memoir of Wren, p. 313, Note.

‡ His premature death in 1672, being only six and thirty years of age, prevented him from committing his writings to the press, but Mr. Ray, his executor, edited and published them. One, F. WILLUGHBEY Orni-

avourite studies, and was honoured by having his name, Willughbeia, given by von Schreber, the friend of Linnæus, to a genus of plants found in Guiana. The papers of this naturalist in the Philosophical Transactions, relate to vegetation, plants and insects. The other was the celebrated Bishop Wilkins, who is several times mentioned in these pages, in Wren's Memoirs and other works connected with the literature and philosophy of this period.

THE same day that witnessed the introduction of Newton's improved telescope to the Royal Society, witnessed also the introduction of that eminent Prelate and distinguished pulpit orator, Dr. John Tillotson as a Fellow. In addition to his matchless collection of Sermons, the copy-right of which was the only legacy, his liberality and charity allowed him to leave to his widow, out of his large ecclesiastical revenues, this eminent Christian Pastor was celebrated for his liberal toleration towards the sects out of the pale of the Church, and endeavoured to have the Presbyterians comprehended within its boundaries, but his proposition was rejected in convocation. This liberality, and his defence of Christianity, on rational grounds, and his correspondence with Limborch, Locke, Le Clerc and other friends of toleration, peace and charity in the

thologiæ, Libri tres, fo. Lon. 1668, and an English translation with additions in 1678;" the other, "F. WILLUGHBEII de Historia Piscium, Libri quatuor, jussu et sumptu Societatis Regiæ Lond. editi: totum Opus recognovit, coaptavit, supplevet, librum etiam primum et secundum integros adjecit J. RAIUS Oxon fo. 1686.

Christian church, caused him to be accused of Socinianism. To which accusation he replied, only, by republishing four of his sermons, "On the divinity and incarnation of our Saviour." Of this mild replication Dr. Jortin humorously observed that Tillotson had broken an ancient and fundamental rule of theological controversy, that of not allowing an adversary to have, either common sense or common honesty.

IN this year, Wren finished Temple-bar, began the churches of St. Stephen, Walbrook, St. Mary-at-hill, and St. Michael, Cornhill, and continued occupied upon St. Paul's Cathedral, and his other extensive works.

THE Royal Society commenced its session of 1673, with a series of experiments and a variety of communications by Newton, Boyle, Hooke, Leibnitz, who was elected a Fellow, and exhibited his new arithmetical instrument, Dr. Grew, and other eminent mathematicians and philosophers. The name of Wren does not occur in any of its records till October 22, in a list of fifty-seven Fellows reported as good paymasters. In November, Wren was knighted by the King at Whitehall, and is, after that date, called Sir Christopher Wren in all records and public transactions. He was re-elected a member of the Council, and with Sir William Petty, Drs. Goddard, Grew and Hooke appointed a Committee to propose fitting experiments for the consideration of the Society. On the 9th of April, Sir Christopher Wren, from the heavy pressure of his engagements, resigned the chair of Savilian Professor

of Astronomy in Oxford, which he had held with honour to himself and satisfaction to the officers, members and students of that University, for more than fourteen years; and on the 12th November was appointed by warrant under the great seal, Architect and one of the Commissioners for rebuilding the cathedral church of St. Paul.

EARLY in the year 1674, the ruins of the old cathedral were began to be cleared, all the serviceable old stone having been previously removed and applied towards building the parish churches. The Architect proceeded with his designs, one of which being selected, the King ordered a model to be made of it, which is preserved in the present Cathedral, and a plan of it drawn from the original by me, and engraved by my friend the late Wilson Lowry, is in the before-mentioned memoirs.

THIS admirable and most original plan, was, to the Architect's great mortification, set aside, through the influence of the Duke of York, and other friends of the Popish faction, secretly encouraged by the King; and backed by some of the clerical commissioners, whose prepossessions in what they called, a true Cathedral form, namely, a nave, aisles, transepts, lateral oratories, chapels, etc. Thus rejecting one of the finest and most original conceptions of a Cathedral for the use of the reformed Church of England, that was ever devised. Let any unprejudiced judge of the fine and beautiful in art, take the two plans, that before-mentioned, and the executed one, also measured and delineated by me,

engraved by John Le Keux, and published in BRITTON'S *Fine Arts of the English School*, fine and complete as the latter is, abounding with striking originalities and wonders in construction, and say honestly, which is the best? Look upon them both, weigh their respective merits and their beauties, and the verdict of an unprejudiced jury, given from the evidence before them, may be anticipated.

On the 12th of February 1674, the Council of the Royal Society, elected Sir Christopher Wren and Sir William Petty to be Vice-Presidents; on the 3rd of December, Wren was appointed on a committee, with the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Seth Ward, Sir William Petty and Sir Jonas Moore, to examine and report on the merits of Hooke's new quadrant for making remote observations with great exactness; and on the 10th of the same month, the Council resolved that Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Evelyn, Dr. Isaac Vossius, who taught Christina of Sweden enough Greek, to make her a pedant, and was now a Canon of Windsor, the friend and associate of St. Evremond, the Duchess* of Mazarin and such like persons and of whom Charles II. said, he was a strange Divine, for he believed in everything but the Bible, Dr. Holder, and other Fellows of the Society should be written to, soliciting a communication from† each; which the President did forthwith.

THE time of Sir Christopher Wren was this year

* The lady of the eccentric Duke, who as mentioned in page 215, carried her embalmed corpse about with him.

† BIRCH'S Hist. Vol. III, p. 160.

occupied in arbitrations, complaints, memorials and such like business, referred to him by the Privy Council*. One of his greatest desires was to prevent the burial of dead bodies within the walls and precincts of the City. At a meeting of the King and Privy Council† at Whitehall, on the 25th of November 1674, the Churchwardens and Ancients (past Churchwardens) of the Parish of St. Clement Danes, petitioned the King for leave to build houses for the benefit of the poor of their Parish, on the north side of the new church-yard, near Lincoln's Inn Fields ; and to erect columns where the new rails stood, to enclose the foot passage for the conveniency of passengers. The memorial was referred to the Surveyor-General, who reported that he had viewed the place, and saw no particular objection against it, considering the nature of the locality and neighbourhood. He suggested, however, two inconveniences as likely to result to the public, if it were granted. First, that the allowing of grave-yards in the Metropolis, if made a precedent, would be, in other places, productive of evil consequences ; for many parishes being ill provided with burying-places, if sickly times, such as the Metropolis had so recently and terrifically been visited with, should return, great indecencies would be committed, and fatal effects would occur from the dead bodies being crowded into such insufficient, and improper

* ELMES's Memoirs, page 332.

† Privy Council M.S., page 50, quoted in the above work, page 332.

places. Secondly, that a great number of the rebuilt houses in the City, were still uninhabited, and that the new houses proposed to be built by the petitioners were therefore not then wanted.

PREPARATIONS for building the new Cathedral were so much advanced in the Spring of 1675, that Mr. Thomas Strong, who was then building the masonry of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, made the first contract* with the Architect and the other Commissioners, for the first portion of the masonry of that edifice.

WREN'S communications with the Royal Society were now, consequently, few and far between, and his loss seems to have been felt ; for their transactions record little else than propositions for procuring payment of arrears due from defaulting Fellows. One of the entries connected with this ebbing of the Society's declining exchequer ist, that Mr. Newton had intimated his being in such circumstances, that he desired to be excused from the weekly payments, it was agreed to by the Council that it should be dispensed with.

MILTON, Newton, Shakspeare and Johnson, are, in the language of the political economists and their secretaries, the utilitarians, unproductive labourers ; poetry, astronomy, morality, false sciences ; "they would yoke and harness," says† a distinguished writer of our day, "the loftier spirits to one common and vulgar destina-

* CLUTTERBUCK'S History of Hertfordshire, Vol. I. page 167.

† BIRCH'S Hist. R. S. Vol. III. page 178.

‡ D'ISRAELI'S Literary Character, page 7.

tion. Man is considered only as he wheels on the wharf, or as he spins in the factory." A Milton gains less for an immortal epic, than he would for a treatise on the nature and properties of the grindstone. Fourpence a day, it is said, was, at one time of his life, all that could be earned by Samuel Johnson to support his sturdy frame. How many Procters, and Haydons, and Chattertons, does not history record in testification of the maddening effects of unrequited genius? Thousands flocked to pay their half-crowns and vulgar homage to the transatlantic abortion, called by his dollar-gaining importers, Tom Thumb, and passed from their carriages by the very door of poor Haydon's exhibition, where the shillings would have procured them the gratification of viewing the productions of a lofty mind, and of contributing to heal the pangs of a wounded spirit, which they drove to suicide.

MR. D'ISRAELI* records that Porson lamented, that "it seemed to him very hard, that with all his critical knowledge of Greek, he could not get a hundred pounds. The political economists," he observes, "would have demonstrated to the learned Grecian, that this was just as it ought to be; the same occurrence had even happened to HOMER in his own country, where Greek ought to have fetched a higher price than in England; but, that both might have obtained this hundred pounds, had the Grecian bard and the Greek professor been employed at the same stocking-frame together instead of the Iliad."

* D'ISRAELI's Literary Character, page 8.

It is, however, consolatory to think, that if a financial speculator can raise himself, from the dregs of society to the circles of a court, drive a whole nation of philosophers and thinkers into a race after Mammon, and then to poverty and madness ; or Projectors and Managing Directors of false propositions, enrich themselves by spoiling others, and roll in their gaudy equipages, over the wretched widows, orphans and other victims of deceitful cupidity ; or if debased monstrosities of humanity, apish imitators of studious manhood, by defilers of infant female purity, can become millionaires ; and a Newton prays forbearance from his creditors, and a Porson sighs for bread, that Phidian representations of both these illustrious men adorn the Halls of the grateful University they both honoured, and their names rendered as imperishable and as extensive as the immortal spirit of civilization. It may be whispered in the ears of the money-lovers, that the author of the "PRINCIPIA," (Sir Isaac Newton, M.P., etc , etc., etc., is meant) became a Member of Parliament, was made Master of the Mint, died worth £32,000, but forgot to make a will, by which philosophical carelessness his fortune fell into the possession of a beloved sister.

HUME does justice to the genius of Newton, although he slandered the faith he believed in, and the Revelation he supported. De Voltaire, the countryman of Descartes, was the first* who introduced the Newtonian Philosophy into France, whilst the Cartesian system predominated, opening, thereby, a more extended field

* "Elements of the Newtonian Philosophy."

to such investigations, and rendering it as triumphant in that country, as in England. He dedicated also* one of the finest inspirations of his Muse to our great philosopher, in which he says—

“ Dieu parle, et le Cahos se dissipe à sa voix :
Vers un centre commun tout gravite à la fois.
Ce ressort si puissant, l’ame de la Nature,
Etoit enseveli dans une nuit obscure :
Le compas de Newton, mesurant l’univers,
Lève enfin ce grand voile, et les Cieux sont ouverts.”

POPE has expressed a similar thought in one couplet—

“ Nature and nature’s laws lay hid in night,
God said, let Newton be, and all was light.”

DR. ADAM SMITH asserts that†, “ that *unprosperous race* of men, called *men of letters*, must *necessarily* occupy their present *forlorn state* in society, much as formerly, when a scholar and a beggar seem to have been terms very nearly synonymous.” Truly, men of letters, scholars and beggars, all this set, whom the Scotch metaphysician classes with the “ mendici†, mimæ, balatrones” of the Roman satirist should doff caps, if such a forlorn hope have such luxuries, to the warm and well-clad Doctor in Philosophy.

ALL of this cold arithmetical class, however, do not take such extreme views of this unproductive class, nor pin their faith in national wealth on steam-engines,

* “ Eloge de Newton.”

† “ Wealth of Nations,” Vol. I. page 182.

‡ HOR. lib. I. Sat. II.

power-looms and operatives alone. Malthus steps out boldly from this phalanx of *cui bonists*; and readily admits, that* “to estimate the value of NEWTON’S discoveries, or the delight communicated by SHAKSPEARE and MILTON, by the *price* at which their works have sold, would be but a poor measure of the degree in which they have elevated and enchanted their country,” and acknowledges, “that some unproductive labour is of much more use and importance than productive labour; but is incapable of being the subject of the gross calculations which relate to national wealth; contributing to other sources of happiness, besides those which are derived from matter.”

Do we require further authority? What says the Royal Sage of Judah?†—“The wisdom of a learned man cometh by using well his vacant time: and he that ceaseth from his own matters and labour, may come by wisdom. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that hath pleasure in the goad, and in driving oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and talketh but of the breed of bullocks?”

THE remainder of the year was occupied by arrangements with complainants to the Privy Council, from all sorts of persons which are fully recorded, from its manuscript transactions, in the before-quoted memoirs of Wren.

DURING the repairs of the Tower of London, in

* Principles of Political Economy, p. 48.

† Ecclus. xxxviii. 24, 25.

removing the stairs which led from the royal apartments to the chapel in the White Tower, a wooden chest or coffin was discovered, containing the remains of two youthful human bodies, which Wren and other authorities conjectured were those of Edward V. and his brother the Duke of York, whose mysterious death in this fortress, placed their suspected uncle on the throne of England, as Richard III. Wren communicated this singular discovery to the King, who signified his pleasure to Sir Christopher, that he should provide a white marble sarcophagus for the relics so found, and have them deposited in the chapel of King Henry VII. at Westminster.

IN pursuance of this warrant, the marble tomb was provided and so deposited ; and an elegant marble urn, with a classical Latin inscription designed and written by Wren, were, after being approved by the King, erected in the east wall of the north aisle of that royal mausoleum. As the inscription, written by a man well versed in English history and antiquities, and approved by the King and Privy Council, testify a fact disputed by historians, it is given at length—

H S S

Reliquiæ

Edvardi Vti, Regis Angliæ, et Ricardi Ducis Eborac.

Hos fratres germanos in Arce Londinensi conclusos,

Injectisque culcitris suffocatos,

Abditè et inhonestè tumulari jussit

Patruus Ricardus perfidus regni

Prædo.

Ossa desideratorum diù et multùm quæsita

Post annos CXCI.

Scalorum in ruderibus (scalæ nuper istæ ad sacellum

Turris albæ ducebant)

Altè defossa indiciis certissimis sunt reperta,

XVII Die Julii, Anno Domini MDCLXXV.

Carolus Secundus, Rex clementissimus, acerbam

Sortem miseratus,

Inter avita monumenta, principibus infelicissimus

Justa persolvit.

Anno Domini 1678, Annoque Regni sui, 30.

FLAMSTEED HOUSE, as the Royal observatory at Greenwich is named, was erected this year under the following circumstances :—M. de St. Pierre, a member of the French Academy, visited London about this time, and demanded a reward from the King, for his discovery, how to find the longitude of a place, by the moon's distance from a star. A commission was appointed to examine his pretensions, and Flamsteed, one of the Commissioners, furnished the claimant with certain *data* of observations from which he was to calculate the longitude of a given place. This he was unable to do, and excused himself by asserting that the *data* were false. Flamsteed replied they were true, but that nothing certain could be deduced from them, for want of more exact tables of the moon, and more correct places of the fixed stars, than Tycho Brahe's observations, made with plain sight, afforded.

THESE facts being told to the King by Sir Jonas Moore, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, he said that his pilots and sailors should no longer be in want of such aid ; and resolved to found an institution, for

the purpose of observing the motions of the moon and the places of the fixed stars, as means of discovering the longitude at sea. Sir Christopher Wren, for his distinguished abilities as an astronomer, was appointed one of the Commissioners for its execution, and also its Architect. The Rev. John Flamsteed, M.A., F.R.S. etc. author of *Historia Cælestis Britannica*, 3 vols. folio, London 1725, and other well-known Astronomical Works, was appointed Astronomer-Royal, and the building has been called Flamsteed House ever since.

THE demolition of the Ruins of Old St. Paul's proceeded with system and rapidity, first by battering rams, then with gunpowder, which, with many scientific details of the various designs made and altered by Wren, are detailed in his *Memoirs*, to which the enquiring reader is referred, as they are too purely technical for the more miscellaneous nature of these pages.

THE first stone of the present Cathedral of St. Paul, was laid on the 21st of June 1675, by the Architect assisted by Thomas Strong* his master mason, and the second by Mr. Longland†. In the course of the preceding year Sir Christopher Wren added to his other avocations the duties of a master, and this year of father of a family, by marrying Faith, daughter of Sir John Coghill, of Bletchington, in Oxfordshire, by whom he had one son, Christopher, who wrote some excellent

* CLUTTERBUCK'S *History of Hertfordshire*, Vol. I., p. 168.

† STRYPE'S *Survey of London*, 2 Vols. fo. London 1720., Vol. I., p. 185.

works on numismatics, etc., he was member of Parliament for Windsor, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and otherwise distinguished.

WREN's architectural works in the Metropolis and Universities proceeded with regularity and effect. The year 1676, in this respect, is nearly a repetition of its predecessor; the Royal Society was honoured by the first successful experiments of the prism by Newton; M. Joly, of Dijon, presented a manuscript containing a body of mechanics professing to demonstrate an universal principle, by which the effects of the moving power of engines is explained; it was delivered to Wren and some other mathematical Fellows to read and report on.

IN 1677 the commemorative Doric column, in the City, was finished, as were some of the parochial churches, which will be mentioned with the rest, in a subsequent chapter.

AMONG other interesting experiments made this year by the Royal Society, were several of van Leuwenhoeek's discoveries of very minute insects in water, vinegar and other fluids, in which Wren much assisted, particularly in proving the viviparous birth of eels. He also recommended the island of Bermuda, as a favourable station for observations on barometrical phenomena, on account of the seasons there, being regular and temperate, the island being encompassed by the main ocean, and lying very distant from any land.

AT the close of the year Lord Brouncker resigned his chair, as President of the Royal Society, after having

held it with satisfaction to the Fellows, and honour to himself, for sixteen years*, that a life holding might not become prescriptive. Sir Joseph Williamson, principal Secretary of State was elected President, and gave a splendid dinner on the occasion, at which Evelyn met, he says, Prince Rupert, Viscount Falconberg, the Earl of Bath, Lord O'Brien, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Lowther, Dr. Grew, and other distinguished persons.

IN 1678 the King expressed a wish to commemorate the memory of his unhappy father, and commissioned his Surveyor General to design a mausoleum for that purpose, which was done with Wren's usual alacrity and talent. The House of Commons voted the sum of seventy thousand pounds for that purpose. The Architect made the plans and estimates, which are now among many other of his designs, in the library of All-souls College, Oxford†, the Parliament voted the money, Dr. Sprat preached on the anniversary of the King's Martyrdom, an eloquent sermon before the House of Commons, thanking them for their liberality, congratulating the country on the event; the House in return voted their thanks to their eloquent and pious chaplain, but—as Wren feelingly recorded it on the unexecuted design—“at (*eheu conditionem temporum!*) *nondum extructum!*”

ALTHOUGH this intention was frustrated, yet Le Sœur's beautiful equestrian statue of Charles I. was re-

* EVELYN'S Diary, Dec. 1677.

† For a full description of them, see *Memoirs of Wren*, p. 368, et seq.

erected under the direction of Wren, who designed the pedestal, and entrusted its execution to Evelyn's newly discovered genius, Grinling Gibbons. There are two designs in the All-soul's collection, beautifully drawn by Wren, one as executed, the other larger and more elaborate.

THE new Bishop of London, who had been translated from the see of Oxford, a little before the beginning of his new Cathedral, proved himself a staunch friend of his Architect and brother Commissioner till the completion of the edifice, under one Bishop, and by one Architect. This distinguished Prelate, was Henry Compton, youngest son of Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, who was slain in the battle of Hopton Heath, fighting on the Royal side. Henry Compton was then only ten years old, but received an education suitable to his rank, and entered as a nobleman at Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards travelled on the Continent. He returned to England after the restoration, and served as Cornet in a cavalry regiment. He subsequently left the service, went to Cambridge, took degrees, received holy orders, was made Master of the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester, was preferred to the Bishopric of Oxford, and translated to London, which he held with distinguished zeal, ability and piety, till his death in 1713, in the eighty-first year of his age.

At the first meeting of the Royal Society in 1678, Wren took the chair as Vice President, and a part in a discussion on the nature and properties of the atmos-

phere. At another debate on the same subject, when alluding to the height of the mercury in the barometrical tube, as a standard, Sir Christopher propounded that its height should be used as the universal standard. Hooke related some experiments he had recently made on atmospheric pressure, in the monumental column on Fish Street Hill, assisted by Messrs. Hunt and Crawley. The results were, that he found the quicksilver in the tube to stand higher at the bottom of the column by nearly the third part of an inch, than on the top, and that it gradually ascended as he descended. To this simple experiment is owing the invention of the mountain barometer to ascertain heights above or below a given standard.

ON the 30th December 1678, the first Parliament of Charles II. was dissolved, after a duration of more than nineteen years, from which it obtained its distinctive name of "The Long Parliament." Popish plots became frequent in the following year, which gave birth to those of Oates and Bedloe, and the famous *meal-tub-plot*. Never, says Evelyn, had he seen the Court more brave, and the nation more in apprehension and consternation. The King's indifference towards the Church of England, his encouragement of papists, and the Duke of York's known predilection for their faith, were the causes of that anomalous state of the Kingdom. The Queen was accused of intending to poison the King, many Roman Catholic Peers were sent to the Tower, and the rest of their body excluded by an act of the New Parliament from the Legislature

for ever. The popish servants of the King, Queen, and Duke of York, were banished the Kingdom, and a test imposed upon all who held any public employment. A vote of the New House of Commons against the recusancy of the Duke of York, gave him such offence, or inspired such fear, that he retired into Flanders. Several Jesuits were executed for being concerned in the plot, and a rebellion in Scotland against the Popish ascendancy of the Royal Family was apprehended, and the whole nation was in a state of alarm.

ALL the Roman Catholic Ambassadors were objects of great suspicion, particularly the Spanish Minister, from the information given by Bedloe, that an army of thirty thousand Pilgrims, Friars and other Popish emissaries, had sailed from St. Jago in Spain, for Milford Haven, to join forty thousand more of the same description, who were distributed in various parts of the Kingdom, but would assemble and meet them in London. The House of Commons accused the Queen of participation in the plot, but the House of Peers rejected the accusation. Some circumstances, however, induced the Select Committee of the Upper House, to receive information at their bar, which led to an order* that Sir Christopher Wren and Edward Warcup, Esq. should forthwith cause padlocks to be placed upon all the doors that opened out of Mr. Weld's house into that of the Spanish Ambassador, and to deliver the keys thereof to the Clerk of the Parliament.

* Memoirs of Wren, p. 387.

IN obedience to this order*, Sir Christopher and his colleague reported "To the Right Honourable the Lords' Committee, to receive information tending to the discovery of the late horrid conspiracy," that they repaired to Wild House†, and having viewed the doors, they acquainted His Excellency Count Egmont with the nature of their business, who, with great civility, they report, gave permission for all things necessary to be done on his side. On Mr. Weld's side they fixed padlocks on three doors, one of which opened upon the great staircase, another upon the back stairs that led into the Oratory, and one in the upper story, which opened into the roof of the Ambassador's house. One of the garden doors they secured with iron bars, as they did one on the second floor, which they found nailed up. They also surveyed the wall, which had been previously ordered to be built by the Committee to keep the neighbours from the chapel, and found it nearly finished, but with a doorway left through it which did not answer the intention of their Lordship's order. With the report they forwarded the keys.

As evidence of the perversity of party feeling at this time, Mr. Evelyn records‡, that he dined with his friend Pepys in the Tower; who Protestant, nay almost Puritan, as he was, suffered imprisonment, under the incredible charge of being a papist, and of having, as Secretary to the Admiralty, furnished information of the

* Dated "Die Sabbati 12 Aprilis 1679." See Privy-Council Manuscript before-named.

† In Wild Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

‡ Diary, June 4, 1679.

state of the British Navy to the French Government ; that on that visit, he saluted Lords Stafford and Petre, Roman Catholic peers, who were committed for the Popish Plot ; and that three days afterward he witnessed the magnificent cavalcade and entry of the Portuguese ambassador.

LITTLE has been said of Wren's domestic affairs, but Evelyn thinks it of importance to record*, that he " was Godfather to a son of Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor of His Majesty's buildings, that most excellent and learned person, with Sir William Fermor† and my Lady Viscountess Newport, wife of the Treasurer of the Household. This son was the second child of the second Lady Wren‡, who was daughter of Lord Fitzwilliam Baron of Lifford ; he was named William, and died unmarried in 1738. The first issue of this second marriage was Jane, who was distinguished for taste, and talent in the fine arts, particularly in music. She died in 1703, in the six and twentieth year of her age, and was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral in the south-east angle of the building, which may now be honourably distinguished as Artists' Corner§. On a small mural monument, opposite to the original one of her illustrious father, she is represented as playing

* Diary, June 17, 1679.

† Afterwards Lord Pomfret.

‡ See Memoirs, Page 385.

§ Besides this accomplished lady, there are, her father, close to her, then Reynolds, Barry, West, Northcote, and other distinguished English Artists.

upon an organ, with an infant angel bringing music books, beautifully sculptured in an alto-rilievo of white marble, with an inscription in Latin and English*, relating her virtues, accomplishments and short life.

WREN's professional avocations in 1680, were a continuance of the public and private buildings in the metropolis and two Universities, but his attendances in the Royal Society were more frequent and regular. At the first meeting of the session, he took the chair, and made a communication† on the nature and properties of some auriferous sand which he had examined. The much disputed question on the barometer was revived, and as to the first discoverer of the atmospheric pressure, when it was determined and recorded‡, "that it was first propounded by Sir Christopher Wren, in order to examine M. Descartes' hypothesis, whether the passing of the moon pressed upon the air, and consequently upon the body of the water; and that the first trial, thereof was made at Mr. Boyle's chambers in Oxford." Wren presided at all the important meetings of the Society this year, as Vice-president, and again at the anniversary election of officers on St. Andrew's day, when Sir Joseph Williamson, who was absent through ill health, was re-elected President.

ON the 4th of December, Mr. Hooke presented a letter to the Council from Isaac Newton, dated Novem-

* Memoirs, Page 385.

† BIRCH's History of the Royal Society, Vol. III, Page 152.

‡ BIRCH's History of the Royal Society, Vol. III, Page 464, and p. 64 et seq. of this work.

ber 28, 1679, with his opinions on M. Mallemon's new hypothesis of the heavens, suggesting, also, an experiment to ascertain whether the earth moves in a diurnal motion or not ; namely, by the falling of a body from a great height, which, he asserted must fall to the eastward of the perpendicular, if the earth moved diurnally on its axis. In the discussion on this important point, which is now occupying public attention in the great French experiment of the oscillation of a pendulum, Wren thought the experiment might be tried by firing a ball upwards, at a certain angle from the perpendicular, round the compass, and see whether the balls so shot would fall in a perfect circle round the centre on which the projectile was placed. Flamsteed remarked, that it was an observation of gunners, that to make a ball fall into the mouth of the piece whence it was fired, it must be shot at an angle of eighty-seven degrees, and that the reason thereof perfectly agreed with his theory that a ball shot off perpendicularly would not fall perpendicularly, instancing the recoiling of a perpendicular jet of water.

THE Society lost, by death, this year, their distinguished Fellow, Sir Jonas Moore, founder of the royal observatory at Greenwich*, and the mathematical school in Christ's Hospital, and the public, by the same fate, Hobbes of Malmsbury ; the daring, turbulent and intriguing Cardinal de Retz, whose connection with the war of the Fronde is well known ; the French historian De Mezerai, Lely the portrait painter, Ber-

* See Page 281.

nini the architect, Butler the author of *Hudibras*, Bartholine, the Danish Anatomist, who first received and defended the Harveian doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and Kircher the inventor of the micrometer.

At the annual election of officers on St. Andrew's day, Robert Boyle was elected President, but on being informed of it, he respectfully declined the honour, and the Society elected Wren to fill that honourable office. The new President took the required oaths on the 12th of January 1681, and the chair, when Sir John Hoskyns was elected Vice President.

At the close of the session Sir Christopher was re-elected President of the Society, and is recorded as presiding at all its councils and general meetings. He continued his professional works with unabated zeal and attention, but suffered a severe loss by the death of his confidential friend and able assistant Thomas Strong, his master mason at St. Paul's. In this year the penny post delivery of letters in the metropolis was first established.

In 1682 the Military Hospital at Chelsea was founded at the instance of Sir Stephen Fox, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and Paymaster to the Army, and the building designed and began by Sir Christopher Wren. The negociations for this monument of national gratitude were conducted by Sir Stephen Fox with the King, and Mr. Evelyn with the Royal Society, to whom the freehold of the old Chelsea College belonged. The measure was proposed to the Society by the President, who, with Evelyn, a member of the Council, was ap-

pointed to settle the terms of the transfer. On the 25th of May Sir Stephen Fox, Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Evelyn waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, with the Architect's design, and on other business connected with the undertaking. Evelyn, among other wise measures, proposed that it should be furnished with a library*, and mentioned several books suitable for such an establishment, as some soldiers, he observed, might possibly be studious when they were at leisure to recollect. This important suggestion has been, happily, executed in our own times, under the patronage of the Duke of Wellington, and on the recommendation, I believe, of the Rev. J. Gleig, Chaplain to the establishment, whose literary talents, and military as well as civil and ecclesiastical services are so well known and appreciated by the public. The building was began in August, and Wren not only designed and superintended its construction, as its Architect, but also drew up the statutes†, and arranged the whole economy of the establishment, which has been from then till now among the best designed and well conducted in Europe.

OF its founder, Sir William Fox, a few words may be admitted. This gentleman, says Evelyn‡, who knew him well, came originally a poor boy from the choir of Salisbury ; then he attracted the notice of Bishop

* Diary, January 27, 1682.

† Parentalia, p. 327. Memoirs, p. 410.

‡ Diary, September 6, 1680.

Duppa, who had been Chaplain to Charles I. and tutor to Charles II., and afterwards waited upon Lord Percy, brother to Algernon, Duke of Northumberland, who procured for him an inferior place among the clerks of the royal kitchen. In this department he conducted himself with so much prudence, honesty and diligence, that Charles II., then in exile, and his small Court, employed him occasionally in other affairs, and trusted him with receiving and paying the little money they possessed. He returned with the King to England, after great privations and sufferings, and was promoted from Clerk of the Kitchen to that of the Board of Green Cloth, and, subsequently, Paymaster to the Army. By his skill and punctual dealing he obtained such credit with the bankers, that he was enabled to borrow large sums from them in times of sudden emergency. This continual turning of money, and the small commission allowed to him by the soldiers for prompt payment, so enriched him that he was believed to be worth two hundred thousand pounds, honestly got and unenvied, says Evelyn, which was next to a miracle ; and, with all this wealth and patronage, he continued as humble and as willing to do a courtesy as he had ever been. Evelyn describes this excellent man as generous, living honourably, of a sweet nature, well spoken, well bred and highly in the confidence of the King and his Ministers. In* the next reign he was dismissed from all his offices, but was restored to them at the Revolution. By opposing the Bill for

* Pittis's Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox.

a Standing Army, he lost the favour of King William, but, on the Accession of Queen Anne, was again replaced in the offices he had filled so well. He married twice, and by his first wife was father to the first Earl of Ilchester, and by his second to the first Lord Holland. This patriarchal, charitable and patriotic statesman retired from this world in 1716, in the ninetieth year of his age. For Wren's services in conducting and concluding this negociation with Paymaster Fox the Council* resolved, that the President had done a service to the Society, and passed a vote of thanks to him accordingly.

DURING the whole of this year, the indefatigable Wren presided at the Council, and general meetings of the Society, taking part in its debates, and enlightening its Fellows with his knowledge and science. At one meeting deciding a dispute between Hooke and Flamsteed on the best mode of describing a parabola ; at another criticising a work of Dr. Wiberd on the figure, quality, refraction, etc. of the eye, which had been submitted to him for his perusal and opinion ; then on the motions of the muscles of animals ; next on pendulum clocks, in which Hooke, the inventor of the spring clock or pocket watch took a distinguished part ; then as to the various measures of length in most general use, and on the measurement of a degree upon the earth's surface : at another time on the emendation of the Society's statutes ; next in receiving and entertaining Prince Borghese with various mathematical, mechanical

* BIRCH's History of the Royal Society.

and chemical experiments. The Prince subscribed his name in the Charter-book as a Fellow, being elected without formal proposition, according to the statutes relating to personages of his Highness' rank. The President then proposed his Excellency Don Joseppe de Faria, Knight of the Order of Christ, Envoy extraordinary from the King of Portugal, and Sir John Chardin, the traveller, as candidates for the honour of Fellowships in the Royal Society.

ON St. Andrew's day the Portuguese Ambassador and the distinguished oriental traveller, Chardin, were elected Fellows, with the usual ceremonies, subscribing the Charter-book, etc., when the President, who, after having held the office with zeal, ability and attention, resigned the Presidential Chair. Sir John Hoskins, one of the Masters in Chancery, an eminent lawyer and distinguished lover of science, was elected President, who, at the next meeting, appointed Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Henshaw, Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Colwall, Vice-Presidents. Notwithstanding this sedulous attention to the presidential duties of the Society, Wren's care of his professional engagements in continuing the rebuilding of the new cathedral and city, and his public works in Oxford and Cambridge, and the royal and episcopal palaces at Winchester, were no less indefatigable and useful.

IN the course of this year Evelyn* describes the reception of the Morocco, Bantam and other eastern Ambassadors at the British Court by Charles II., who

* Diary, January 24, 1682.

placed them in alternate mixtures of "a lady between two Moors, and amongst these were the King's natural children, namely, Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Nelly, etc., concubines and cattle of that sort, as splendid as jewels and excess of bravery could make them."

OF King Charles's "wild and wanton herd*," the Duke de St. Simon† relates a pleasant anecdote, told to him by the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent of France, during the minority of Louis XV. M. D'Orleans loved liberty, says his friend and advocate, as well in others as for himself, and was one day extolling the advantages that England possessed on this head, where there was neither exile nor *lettres de cachet*, where the King could command nothing but the entrance of his palace, nor imprison any one without trial. He then related with great delight that besides the Duchess of Portsmouth, the grand mistress, Charles II. had several other minor mistresses, or, as Evelyn contemptuously calls them, "misses," that the Grand Prior of Malta, then young and agreeable, of a "race of rude unhandled colts‡," which swarmed in both the English and French Courts, was exiled from France for some mad frolic or wild boundings, and that he selected England for his penal settlement, having been previously well received by the King. Perhaps, like M. De Grammont§, and the Sieur

* Shakspeare.

† Memoires, Tom. II. p. 21.

‡ Shakspeare.

§ Page 176—*M. le Grand Prieur* was a younger brother of the *Duc de Grammont*.

De St. Evremont, before mentioned, worked out his claim for pardon, like a good Frenchman of that day, by becoming a spy for the grand Monarch.

FOR the favours received from the English Monarch, *M. le Grand-Prieur* seduced one of these minors from her allegiance to her Sovereign Lord, the King, who, at that time so passionately adored the Cytherean nymph, that he demanded her restitution as a favour, offered the courtly ravisher money, and engaged to adjust his affairs with the French King, and obtain permission for him to return to France. The Grand-Prior held his ground, the King forbade him his palace, the commandant laughed, and went every day to the Play in company with his fair captive, and seated themselves opposite to the King. In this extremity Charles did his utmost to prevail upon his royal brother of France to recall this unlicensed sportsman, and, at length, succeeded. The Grand-Prior replied, that he found himself very happy in England, and continued his gay career. This conduct so incensed the King, that he wrote confidentially to the French Monarch informing him of the Grand-Prior's poaching in the royal preserve ; which so touched the sensitive heart of Louis le Grand, that he sent an order so prompt and absolute, which made the offender against the purity of the English Court, incontinently return to Paris, to amuse the no less chaste circles of Versailles with his anecdotes of sporting in England.

CHARLES II. had as great a love for gallantry, gardens and fine buildings, as his distinguished Patron

Louis XIV. The City of Winchester, which had been almost destroyed by Cromwell, after the battle of Nazeby, had long attracted his notice as a fit situation for a Royal Residence from its contiguity to the arsenal and dockyards of Portsmouth. He therefore, in the early part of the year 1683, began a Palace on a commanding situation in that City, from the designs, and under the superintendence of Wren. The new Palace was begun in May, and the works proceeded with great rapidity. Its length from east to west was three hundred and twenty-six feet, and breadth, or depth from north to south, two hundred and sixteen feet, and was to have been surmounted by a lofty cupola which would have been visible from the sea ; a broad street of handsome dwelling houses leading from the hill on which the palace was built, in a line with the central portico to the western entrance of the Cathedral. For the purpose of the Palace, parks, gardens and pleasure gardens, the necessary land was procured*, and preparations made for planting it, in the manner suggested by that Prince of arboriculturists John Evelyn.

THE architect also projected a river through the

* In the bound folios and books of Sir Christopher Wren's designs, drawings, estimates, reports, etc. in the library of All-Souls College, Oxford, Vol. II, No. 96, is an abstract of lands, etc. purchased in Winchester for the palace and its grounds, in Sir Christopher's handwriting, which, with a full description of the palace and its apartments, is given at length, as copied by me from the originals, and printed for the first time, in my quarto *Memoirs of Wren*, Page 422 to 428, and Notes.

park, wherein was to have been a cascade of thirty feet fall, with a natural current, and navigable for small vessels into the Downs ; and the whole disposition and arrangement of the buildings were such as would have rendered it, for its size, one of the most complete, elegant and comfortable royal residences in Europe. It overlooked the city towards the east, the principal front consisting of a central portico and façade between two projecting wings. The marble columns for supporting the peristyle of the grand staircase were sent, as a present to the King, by the Duke of Tuscany, and the suites of rooms on each side were numerous, spacious and well-proportioned. There was to have been a raised terrace round it, like that of Windsor Castle, spacious gardens, a park which was marked out, eight miles in circuit, to open into a forest, twenty miles round.

THE palace was built and roofed in, as far as what is technically called the carcase or shell, of the building, in 1685, three years after its commencement, when the works were stopped by the death of the King. Neither his brother, James II., nor William III., the liberator of these realms, proceeded with it. Queen Anne paid one visit to Winchester, wherein she sojourned seventeen days, and liked the place, and the design so well, that she proposed to finish it, as a jointure-residence for her Royal Consort, Prince George, of Denmark ; but the expensive wars in which she was engaged and the Prince's death before her, prevented its comple-

tion. During the French revolutionary war, it was used as military barracks.

WHEN the King's intentions of making Winchester a residence became known, many of the nobility and gentry proceeded to purchase land and to begin the erection of mansions and houses in the city and its neighbourhood. Among others, Bishop Morley, who had been in exile with the King, began a new Episcopal Palace, designed and superintended by Wren, on the site of the ruined ancient fortified baronial residence called Wolvesley Castle. This eminent prelate, after serving Charles I. and Charles II., the latter in his exile, in a most disinterested and exemplary manner, returned to England early in 1660, to prepare the way for Charles's restoration. In July, 1660, he was elected Bishop of Worcester, and, on the death of Bishop Duppa, two years afterwards, was translated to the see of Winchester, on which event the King, who knew his benevolent heart and truly Christian charity, observed that Morley would be none the richer for it. The event proved the correctness of the King's prediction, for he became a great benefactor to that see, and besides building and completing one wing of the Episcopal Palace, and bequeathing a sufficient sum for the rest, he expended more than eight thousand pounds in repairing Farnham Castle, which had been neglected and much dilapidated in Cromwell's time, and upwards of four thousand pounds in the purchase of Winchester House, Chelsea, for a London residence, annexed to the see. He also gave a hundred pounds a year to Christ

Church, Oxford, for the public benefit of that college, founded five scholarships of ten pounds a year each in Pembroke College, gave upwards of eighteen hundred pounds to the Cathedral of St. Paul, London, and bequeathed a thousand pounds to purchase lands for the augmentation of some small vicarages. This distinguished ornament of our national church, died at Farnham Castle on the 29th of October 1684, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in his Cathedral of Winchester. In spite of the money left by Bishop Morley to complete the Palace, it was discontinued. Bishop Mew, his successor, finding after the death of Charles II. no prospects of a Court at Winchester, neglected it; but Sir John Trelawney, who succeeded Dr. Mew, in Queen Anne's reign, applied for the money left by Bishop Morley, and completed it.

AMONG Wren's public works this year, was that useful structure, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which owes its foundation to Elias Ashmole, a singular compound of Archaiology, Alchemy, Astrology, Heraldry, and, as much speculative and occult philosophy as procured for him the dubious title of a virtuoso. This singular man offered to bestow upon the University all of the extensive collections in natural history, which had been bequeathed to him by John and William Tradescant, the distinguished naturalists and physic gardeners at South Lambeth, with the additions that he had made to them, if the University would erect a building suitable to their reception. This liberal offer was immediately accepted, and the present

edifice constructed. He subsequently added to it his books and manuscripts, and thus completed the "*Museum Ashmoleanum*" in his life-time. The other contributors to this mixed museum of rarities and curiosities of a most miscellaneous nature were numerous; Dr. Plot the naturalist, Messrs. Lloyd, Borlase and Reinhold Forster, were among the earliest followers of Ashmole's good example; the last named traveller presented many curiosities from the South seas. This museum, which may be called the Oxford curiosity-shop, also contains the books of Dr. Martin Lister, the eminent physician and naturalist, and the valuable manuscripts of Dugdale, Aubrey and Anthony Wood.

AMONG the public events which signalize the year 1683 are the execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, the discovery of the Rye House Plot, the reprimand of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of London concerning their charter. This royal correction they received on their knees with due humility, were warned as to their future conduct, and many severe restrictions placed upon them*. Colbert, the distinguished French minister, died this year, to the great loss and regret of France.

IN 1684 Sir Christopher Wren was appointed by letters patent under the great seal Comptroller and chief officer of the works at the Castle of Windsor, and of all the manors, lodges, etc. in the forest thereof, in the room of Hugh May, Esq. deceased. Hugh May, who was one of the Commissioners for the repair

* EVELYN'S Diary, June 18, 1683.

of Old St. Paul's, as well as Comptroller of the works at Windsor, was an architect of some repute and of much fashion in his day. He took Palladio for his model, but was far in the rear of that great master, whom he imitated in a coarse and vulgar manner. He was a friend of Evelyn and a patron of Grinling Gibbons, whom he employed to execute some chimney pieces and other sculptures in the Earl of Essex's town mansion in St. James's Square, in conjunction with Verrio, whom Evelyn almost idolized, who painted some of the ceilings. He also designed and built Sir Stephen Fox's house at Chiswick, which Evelyn, a sound architectural critic, complains of as being clumsy, also a large house for the Earl of Berkeley, which was afterwards destroyed by fire, and other works of various descriptions.

THESE additional appointments led Wren to resign the Presidency of the Royal Society, whose meetings he attended less frequently than before. He occasionally presided as Vice-President, and was re-elected of the Council, and one of the Vice-Presidents, at the annual election on St. Andrew's Day.

THE Royal Society, lost at this time, by death, its first royal patron and founder, King Charles II. whose character belongs to history. He was seized with an apoplectic fit* on the 2nd February 1685, when he was bled by Dr. King, who was by accident present, which slightly recovered him. On the 4th he was cupped, bled in both jugulars, physicked and other

* EVELYN'S Diary of this date.

powerful remedies applied, which much abated the violence of the attack, that hopes were entertained of his recovery, and a bulletin to that effect was announced in the London Gazette. On Thursday, the 5th, the epileptic symptoms returned, and the King was again physicked and bled, but after many conflicts with a mightier monarch than himself, he surrendered his three crowns to an unworthy successor, at half an hour past eleven in the forenoon of the 6th of February 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth year of his actual reign, reckoning from his restoration, although Evelyn, and other royalists, and the regal tables record it as the thirty-sixth. The religious ceremonies in the royal death chamber are fully detailed in Evelyn's diary of this date, and in the notes to the new edition*, quoted from the authority of King James II. One fact is enough, the dying King joined in the devotions prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially, says Evelyn, Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells ; and after their withdrawal, received the last sacraments of the Romish Church from the hands of Father Huddleston, the Jesuit.

On the day preceding the King's death the Royal Society lost by the same fate their first President, Lord Viscount Brouncker, who died at his house in St. James's Street, on the 5th of April 1684, aged sixty-four. The Society also had about this time to lament

* By WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. F.A.S.

the death of their able and learned coadjutor, Dr. Croune, the founder of the Crouneian Lectures in the University of Cambridge. In this year the Dublin Society, founded on the model of the Royal Society, was established by Sir William Petty, who was then residing in Ireland. The new Society corresponded for many years with its honoured parent in London.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES II, TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE I.

A. D. 1685 TO 1726.

“ THEN dawn’d the period destin’d to confine
 The surge of wild Prerogative, to raise
 A mound restraining its imperious rage,
 And bid the raving deep no farther flow.”

THOMSON.

JAMES II. on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, made promises* to maintain the constitution and government of the kingdom, both in Church and State, which subsequent events proved were insincere. The last chapter shows the death-bed of one royal supporter of kingly prerogative and arbitrary power ; and the contemplation of such a scene may be profitable to the admirers of low people in high places. A sketch of the last scene of the many-act tragedy of Louis XIV†, or the Royal Jesuit, may be similarly

* Life of James II. Vol. II. Page 435.

† The Duke de St. Simon gives it as his firm conviction, founded on the testimony of M. le Maréchal, the king’s surgeon and others, who attended Louis XIV. in his last illness, and which is confirmed by his Editor, and the public papers of the time, that the Jesuit, Père le Tellier, had persuaded the king, long before his illness, to enter the Society. He magnified the privileges of the order as leading to salvation, the plenary indulgences which were attached to it, that any crime

useful, and will form a companion to that enacted under the direction of Father Huddleston.

As soon as it was known that the last illness of Louis XIV. was likely to prove fatal, Father le Tellier, says* the Duke de St. Simon, began to relax his attentions to the dying monarch ; seldom coming, except when a distribution of benefices was to take place. The king was not only neglected by his spiritual director, but was abandoned by his wife, the Marchioness de Maintenon, whom, for the last four days, he was continually asking for, without being able to bring her from her fascinating spiritual retirement at St. Cyr ; and also his favourite illegitimate son, by his favourite mistress Madame de Montespan, the Duke de Maine. The tender hope of the dying king, says† the same authority, to Madame de Maintenon, that they should soon meet again in heaven, and the manner in which she received the compliment, proved that the old lady,

he might commit would be forgiven, and every difficulty that might occur would be removed by joining this secret profession. The King, he says, received the vows and secret signs at his initiation, and the proper fermulary of prayers, and absolution on giving the almost imperceptible sign of the order, from the hands of Le Tellier. How far Father Huddlestons, who was Charles's companion at and after the battle of Worcester, and in his exile, had initiated *his* penitent, only the traditions of the order can prove. M. de St. Simon also says, that the Jesuits had in their society, numerous laics of all sorts, married and single. He mentions as a certain fact that M. Desnoyers, Secretary of State, was one of the aggregate members of the society, and many others of equal and similar rank. *Memoires de M. le Duc St. Simon, Sup. Vol. I. Page 3.*

* Sup. Vol I. Page 1.

† Ib. Page 4.

not content with being Queen in France, would also be immortal, so much did she dislike the idea of a speedy re-union with her royal spouse. Of such value are the death-beds of Princes.

“MY son*,” said the widowed queen of Louis XIII. to her son, the boy King, Louis XIV. “imitate your grandfather and not your father.” The King demanded the reason, to which the pious Queen-mother replied, “when Henry IV. died, people wept, but they rejoiced at the death of Louis XIII.” In spite of the maternal caution, the same effects were produced at the obsequies of Louis-le-Grand; for tents, drinking, and dancing booths, lined the road from Paris to St. Denis, and the people shouted, drank, sang, laughed, and, in short, the farce of the merry mourners was as completely enacted at the funeral of Louis XIV. as it was at that of his powerful rival Oliver Cromwell, before-mentioned†.

LOUIS XIV. was regretted, says M. de St. Simon‡, but by the officers of his household, and a few other persons who were interested for their places. His successor, Louis XV. was then a child, Madame, the widow of his brother, the Duke of Orleans, felt nothing for him but fear and respect; the Duchess de Berry, loved him not, and had calculated on being Queen, had he died before her husband; the Duke of Orleans, says St. Simon, was not paid for weeping, and those who were, did not do their duty. Madame de Main-

* M. DE VOLTAIRE, *Siecle de Louis XIV.*

† Page 124.

‡ Sup. Vol. I. Page 19.

tenon's love for her husband, and the Duke de Maine's for his father have been mentioned ; and the whole family circle of the grand monarch, from himself, the centre, to the extreme circle of the courtly satellites that revolved around him, were of similar character, but of different grades and phases as the light of their divinity shone upon, or was eclipsed from them. A more complete triunity of despotism, bigotry and vanity, perhaps never lived at one time, than the three Jesuit Kings, Louis, Charles and James, and few men have passed from life to death, more contemptuously, and less regretted.

At the time of the unlamented death of Charles II. of England, the mighty kingdom and resources of France, were under the despotic rule of a monarch, whom M. de St. Simon, who knew him well, describes as zealous for the right divine of kings, of canons, of hierarchies, of ultramontane doctrines, of a pharasaical* attachment to the exterior of the law, and the garb of religion, who was governed by an old Magdalen, who was so powerful at court that it was reckoned better to offend God than Madame de Maintenon†, and who, in her turn, was directed by her confessor, Gobelin, and governed by the spiritual tyranny of the good Father le Tellier ; and the kingdoms of Great Britain and

* Mem. Sup. Tom. 1. Page 12.

† Cette vieille dame étoit si redoutée à la Cour, qu'on auroit plutôt offensé Dieu qu'elle. *Fragmens de Lettres Originales de Madame Charlotte Elizabeth, Princesse de Bavière, veuv de Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans.*

Ireland under the tender mercies of James II. who was similarly governed by Charlotte Sedley, Countess of Dorchester by royal favour, and directed by Father Huddleston.

ALL royal commissions having terminated by the death of the late King, James II. issued a new one, appointing Wren and his former colleagues as Architect and Commissioners for rebuilding St. Paul's, and to their former appointments at Windsor Castle and other royal works. Sir Christopher Wren, honoured by knighthood, when that honour was more of a distinction than in some after reigns, by the presidency of the first philosophical society in Europe, by the surveyor-generalship of all the royal buildings, the new metropolitan cathedral, and all the public buildings of the capital and the two universities, and the associate and correspondent of all the leading men in Europe, was called to extend his services politically, in one of the most critical periods of our history. Wren was elected member for Plympton in Devonshire, and served in the Parliament which assembled at Westminster, May 19, 1685. His attendances in the Council of the Royal Society, became, of course, less frequent, but they are recorded in every discussion of importance, and on St. Andrew's Day he was re-elected on the old Council as heretofore*.

THE following year, 1686, is distinguished by the first publication of the Newtonian philosophy, and is

* BIRCH's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 443.

thus recorded in the Annals of the Royal Society*. " May 19, 1686, Sir Joseph Williamson in the chair— Ordered that *Mr. Newton's Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* be printed forthwith, in quarto, in a fair type, and that a letter be written to him to signify the Society's resolution, and to desire his opinion as to the print, volume, cuts, etc." Mr. Halley, then clerk to the Society, did so, and the great work appeared.

WREN'S transactions with the King and Privy Council this year were many and important. Some were concerning disputed property†, purchased for the new royal park at Winchester, complaints from crown tenants, an order to provide suitable apartments at St. James's for M. Ronchi, probably an Italian priest, an investigation into the title of the Duke of Buckingham to Wallingford House, which was then on the site of the present Admiralty Offices, Whitehall, a complaint against that noble Duke for giving a person a piece of ground adjoining the spring garden in lieu of a large sum of money which he owed him, and stopping the buildings he had began ; many surveys and estimates for repairs, alterations, etc., at St. James's, Greenwich, and Hampton Court‡, accounts of Verrio for paintings, etc., all of which he decided and settled equitably and satisfactorily.

* BIRCH'S History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 484.

† Memoirs, p. 441. Privy Council M.S., p.p. 79-87.

‡ The Architect's report on the Historical Painter's bill is curious. Memoirs, p. 444, note.

ON the 30th of June the *Principia* of NEWTON was ready for publication, and the Council of the Society* ordered that the President should be desired to license it. The continuous avocations of Wren, professionally and parliamentary, deprived the Society of much of his assistance this year, yet he was elected a member of the old Council at the annual election on St. Andrew's Day†, as he was again in 1687.

RUBENS' fine pictures on the ceiling of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, being in a state to require artistic attention, Wren was commanded by the King to examine and report upon them. He did so, and they were cleaned and refreshed, under his direction, by Mr. Parry Walton, a competent person, who performed his task to Wren's satisfaction. By the bills quoted from the Privy Council manuscripts‡, it appears that the whole interior of the building, galleries, window-frames, broken plaster on the walls, etc., were thoroughly repaired, the inside walls painted stone colour, in oil, as at the first, the gilding redone, and the grounds picked in. The pictures were taken from their panels and lined, for Walton charges for that purpose cloth, priming, paste, nails, colours, oil, varnish, and other materials. As he charges nothing in his bill for his time or skill as an artist, and as Verrio's estimate for Whitehall is mentioned in a previous note, it is possible that this painter of sprawling saints may have touched them

* BIRCH's History of the Royal Society, Vol. IV. p. 491.

† Ibid, p. 505.

‡ ELMES's Memoirs, p. 448, note.

where symptoms of decay appeared to render such reparation necessary.

THE year of King James II. accession to the throne was marked by that cruel, unjust and impolitic act, the revocation of the edict of Nantes ; and persecutions against the Protestants in France raged during the whole of James's short and restless reign. In March 1688 Louis XIV. finding the blood-thirsty dragooning of his Protestant subjects made no proselytes among those persons of rank and others whom he had imprisoned in dungeons, and confined in monasteries and nunneries, gave them, after long and harassing trials, a general release, on the condition of expatriation ; but forced them to leave their children and property in France. This new act of tyranny brought thousands of these unfortunate persons over to England, Holland and other places, where they were received and relieved with Christian charity.

As an agreeable contrast to the barbarous exultation of Louis XIV, the Court of Rome, and its clergy, who vied in flattering the old tyrant, the conduct of M. de Coislin, then Bishop of Orleans, stands out in fine relief. This distinguished Prelate of the Gallican Church had preserved through a long life, the purity, simplicity and virtues of a well-educated childhood, although brought up in the French Court, and in the great world of that gay people. His love of residence in his diocess, his pastoral solicitude for his flock, his great charity and other Christian virtues, made him beloved by all who lived within the beneficent circle of his in-

fluence. He was happy in his choice of assistants, and was well seconded by them in his avocation of teaching and ruling his flock. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the Chancellor le Tellier, M. de Louvois his son, both enemies of the great Colbert, and Madame de Maintenon, put it into the King's head to convert the Huguenots, by the powerful arguments of dragoons, sabres, horse pistols and torments. Among other places, the diocess of Orleans was selected as the scene of one of these military missions for the propagation of the faith. These novel pastors were to be spread all over the diocess of Orleans to convert all its heretical population. Immediately on their arrival the Bishop invited the officers to his residence, and told them to have no other table than his. He put their horses into his stables, provided lodgings for their men, begged that not a single dragoon should leave the town, that no one should commit any outrage, if they had not sufficient subsistence he would furnish all necessaries, but, above all, they should not say a word to the Huguenots, and that they should not go home with one of them. As Bishop of the diocess he commanded obedience, and he was obeyed.

THE sojourn of the dragoons lasted a month and cost the worthy M. d'Orleans much money and care. At the end of that time, he managed so that the dragoons evacuated the district, and no more were ever sent to disturb him or his people. This conduct, so full of charity and so opposite, says M. de St. Simon*

* Memoires Sup. Tom. III. p. 132.

to that followed in nearly all the other dioceses in France and in the immediate neighbourhood of Orleans, endeared him so much to the Huguenots, that more persons returned to his communion than all that were produced by all the dragoonings and other atrocities throughout France.

WHEN the Cardinal's hat and other insignia of that dignity were sent from Rome to Versailles by the Cardinal de Janson and M. l'abbé de Barrière the Pope's Chamberlain, for Bishop Coislin, and he was invested with the habiliments of a Cardinal, he appeared a few days afterwards at the levee in his usual clerical dress. The King enquired the reason, and the new Cardinal replied—"Sire* ! I shall ever remember that I was a Priest before I became a Cardinal." He kept his word and changed nothing in his former simplicity of house and table. He still wore a cloth cassock, trimmed with thin stuff instead of satin, and no scarlet about his dress, but his cap and hat-riband.

THERE is some difference between this Cardinal simplicity of the good Bishop of Orleans, and the bloated inanity of some of his fellow hierarchs, with their scarlet hats borne before them on silver salvers, their corpulencies as fine as red satin, bullion lace, copes, mitres, rings and golden croziers can make them, and their humble tails carried by fellow mortals. Worthy imitators and successors of the inspired fishermen of Galilee ! Volumes have been written in eulogies, and thousands have prostrated themselves at the feet of a

* Memoires Sup. Tom. III. p. 135.

Borgia, a Richelieu, a Mazarin, or a Dubois, and the virtues of a De Coislin are enclosed in a manuscript book of memoirs, by an admiring contemporary.

KING JAMES II. in spite of his promises to maintain the Church, broke them in every point, and in June, sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, from the Privy Council, as prisoners, to the Tower. "The concern of the people for them," says Evelyn*, "was wonderful; infinite crowds upon their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them, as they passed out of the barge along the Tower wharf." Evelyn visited them in their confinement, and their subsequent trial and acquittal, and the public rejoicings which followed, are well known.

WHILST the King was pursuing these tyrannical measures, surrounded by his popish troops in his encampment on Hounslow Heath, committing many murders and insults, the whole nation was enraged at such conduct, and all parties full of apprehension. The Prince of Orange, who was personally hated by Louis XIV. and the whole papistical party in Europe, was making extraordinary preparations in Holland to aid the constitutional party in England, which, with the increasing disaffection in the people towards the King and his advisers, spread the greatest consternation in both court and camp. The writs which had been issued for the election of a new Parliament were recalled on account of the nature of the returns under

* Diary, June 8, 1688.

the popular discontents. The King* called over five thousand Irish and four thousand Scottish troops to his aid, removed Protestants from situations of trust, and replaced them with Papists ; retaining his body-guard of Jesuits as his advisers and directors.

THE 14th of October was the King's birth-day, and Evelyn records in his diary of that date, that the Tower-guns were not fired, as had been usual ; the sun was eclipsed at its rising, and the day was noted as the anniversary of the victory of William the Norman over Harold. The wind which had been long in the west, and detained the Prince of Orange in the Dutch ports, shifted to the east, and so continued, to the gratification of the people. The whole of this month was passed in continual alarm, discontent and disputes between the King and the protestant nobility and gentry. The government of the United Provinces issued a declaration for the satisfaction of all the public ministers at the Hague, except to those of France and England. The termination of the Jesuitical reign of James II. and the beginning of a legal monarchy by the landing of Prince William at Torbay on the 4th of November 1688, and his subsequent call to the throne of Great Britain by the Parliament and people, is recorded in our histories, and revered by every lover of religious and civil liberty.

AMONG James's principal advisers was M. Peguilhem, a younger brother of a Gascon family, who by his intrigues and impudence, aided by the friendship of

* EVELYN'S Diary, Oct. 7, 1688.

M. le Maréchal de Grammont, his father's first cousin, was raised to high situation at home and abroad, a Duke and Peer of France, married to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, and a Knight of the Garter in England. This man, who concealed himself under Madame de Montespan's bed*, to listen to the *tête-à-tête* between that virtuous wife and her married lover Louis XIV. that he might learn the reason of the King refusing him an appointment, and many other daring tricks, at the risk of his life ; after having offended the King in many ways, for which he had been sent to the Bastile and pardoned—to exile and recalled, demanded permission to serve his Majesty in England. Permission was granted, and M. le duc de Lauzun embarked on his mission to expiate his offences as other good Frenchmen had done before. He was received with delight in London, for he was rich, fond of gaming, and played high. James II. received and treated him with distinction, the revolution burst forth about ten months after his arrival in England, and he rendered personal service to the de-throned King, who confided the Queen and infant Prince to his care. M. de Lauzun executed his charge faithfully, and conveyed the Royal fugitives, first to Calais and afterwards to Versailles. This service procured, on the intercession of the exiled Queen, pardon for the offender, who was restored to the Royal favour.

* Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Tom. III. 37 et Sup. Tom. II. 56.

LOUIS XIV. personally hated the Prince of Orange, who, in his turn thoroughly despised the French monarch and all that belonged to him. On one occasion the Prince was told that one of Louis's Marshals had said, he should like to have a battle with that hunch-back, replied, "What do they know of my back? they have none of them yet seen it." When Louis XIV. gave honours, orders and wealth to the Duke de Maine, Guiscard, and Mezigny the engineer, who surrendered Namur to the Prince of Orange, the latter said* that it was his misfortune always to have to envy the French monarch, who gave greater rewards to those commanders who lost his towns, than he could do to those who took them.

BUT the grand offence was, the Prince's refusal to marry one of the French monarch's illegitimate daughters. The King began only by degrees to develop his intentions of aggrandizing his natural children by great alliances, and his first attempt was a failure, and a sad disappointment to the vain monarch. He† conceived the project of marrying Mademoiselle de Blois, his daughter by Madame la Valliere, to the Prince of Orange, and proposed the alliance to him, at a time when his successes in war, and his name so renowned throughout Europe, were so great, that he felt persuaded that the proposition would be gratefully received as the greatest honour, and the greatest advan-

* Memoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Sup. Tom. II. p. 372.

† Ib. Memoires, Tom. 11. p. 152.

tage that could be offered. His Majesty, however, deceived himself. The Prince of Orange to whom this offer was made, was the son of a daughter of Charles I. King of England, and his grandmother was daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg. He received the message with disdain, and replied, that the Princes of Orange were accustomed to marry the legitimate daughters of great Kings, and not the bastards of any one.

THIS noble answer sensibly wounded the heart of the King, who never forgot it, and took such offence, that often, against his interest, he showed the greatest indignation. His ministers in Holland were commanded to thwart the Prince's measures in every way, not only in state affairs, but in all private and personal matters ; to aid by all the means in their power all persons and bodies who would oppose him ; to disburse money largely to procure the election of persons to the magistracy who were against him ; to protect openly all who would declare against him ; never to see him, and, in short, to do him all the ill they could, and to throw all possible annoyances in his way. In the end, the Prince of Orange compelled Louis XIV. to acknowledge him King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and as such to conclude a treaty of peace with him.

THE Parliament, or as Hume names it, the English Convention, assembled at Westminster, on the 22nd of January 1689, and passed, unanimously, a vote of thanks to William, Prince of Orange, and declared the

throne vacant by the abdication, or more properly, abandonment of the government by James II. and elected the Prince of Orange and his consort, joint sovereigns under the united names of William and Mary.

IN the first parliament under the new sovereigns, Sir Christopher Wren was elected member for the Borough of New Windsor by all the inhabitants who paid, what is called scot and lot, but was set aside by petition, and the House resolved, that the right of election was in the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses only, by whom he was again elected as their representative.

DURING this year the capricious Christina of Sweden slept with her fathers, unlamented. Pope Innocent XI. Benedict Odescalchi, who advised the weak bigot James II, not to attempt the insensate scheme of a solemn readmission of England into the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, also filled up another niche in the pontifical cemetery ; and our great medical philosopher, Thomas Sydenham, who was called the father of modern physic, closed his illustrious and useful career in this year.

WHILST the new King was engaged in defending the cause for which he was invited by the English people and fighting its battles in Ireland, his Ministers, undisturbed by warfare at home, were fully occupied in domestic affairs, particularly in completing the unfinished metropolis. The rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, the parish churches, the companies' halls and other public works were renewed with activity, and Wren

was no less engaged than before with the Privy Council and the Lords of the Treasury in determining private disputes concerning property, both in the City and in Westminster. The talents and character of Wren were as much esteemed by the new King and Queen as they had been by their two predecessors. Queen Mary had taken a great liking to the situation of the ancient palace at Hampton Court, and Wren, therefore, received their Majesties' commands to execute a series of plans, elevations and sections of a new design for a royal residence to be erected upon the site of the old edifice. The new palace was begun forthwith, by taking down the dilapidated parts of the old building which faced the home park. Two extensive suites of the royal apartments were finished just before the Queen's death in 1694, after which time little more was done by Wren towards finishing the projected palace.

THIS amiable and excellent Princess, whose taste and accomplishments have been acknowledged by all who were qualified to appreciate them, and who regarded idleness as the great corrupter of human nature*, was fond of architecture and gardening, and gratified her partiality for those arts by examining the drawings, mechanism and progress of the works in execution at Hampton Court, on which she occasionally offered her opinions, and her taste in art was acknowledged by all who knew her.

A CLEVER living biographer of the Queens of Eng-

* BURNETT.

land has scarcely done justice to the memory of this Princess, and has traduced the character of the King, her husband, more in the style of a courtier of the age of Louis XIV. than in that of an Englishwoman of the middle of the nineteenth century. Madame de Sevigné may be a model of French letter-writers, but is rather a doubtful model for either morals or religion as observed in England during the present reign. This French Marchioness, of an age when female degradation could scarcely descend lower, in describing to her daughter the tempest which dispersed the gallant fleet of the Prince of Orange on its first departure from Holland for the liberation of Britain, says* “Joy is universal at the overthrow of this Prince, whose wife is a Julia.” (Madame here alludes to the wife of Tarquinius Superbus, who drove her chariot over the body of her father, Servius Tullius.) “Ah, how she passed over the body of her father! She has given procuration to her husband to take possession of the Kingdom of England, to which she says she is heiress, and if her husband is killed—for her imagination is not delicate—she will give it to M. de Schomberg to take possession for her. What say you of this hero

* The following are the lady's own words. “La joie est universelle de la déroute de ce Prince, dont la femme est une Julie. Ah! qu'elle passeroit bravement sur le corps de son pere! Elle a donner procuration à son mari pour prendre possession du Royaume d'Angleterre, dont elle dit qu'elle est héritière; et si son mari est tué, car son imagination n'est point delicate, elle la donne à M. de Schomberg, pour en prendre possession pour elle: que dites vous de ce héros qui gâte si cruellement la fin d'une si belle vie.”—LETTRES DE MADAME LA MARQUISE DE SEVIGNÉ.

who so disgracefully spoiled the end of so great a life?" Miss Agnes Strickland has answered this question like a true disciple of the Sévigné school. As for poor Marshal Schomberg, who shares the calumnies of his royal friends, he, after serving Louis XIV. with fidelity, bravery and skill in France, Holland and Portugal, was driven by that distaff-led Jesuit from his altar and home, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and found refuge, employment and an honourable death* in the service of the first constitutional government of England.

IF Queen Mary did leave her father for her husband, not only from public necessity, to which private feelings must often bend, but the highest of written authorities commands that† "a man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh." If, therefore, this divine command be imperative upon man, *a fortiori*, how much stronger is the converse of the text compulsive upon the woman?

AFTER this discerning Princess had discovered the varied talents of her architect she treated him with distinguished favour. Wren, in return, bore willing testimony to the excellent judgment and good taste of Queen Mary. He had numerous opportunities during the four years he was thus engaged at Hampton Court, of free communication with the Queen, not only on

* At the Battle of the Boyne.

† Genesis ii. 24.

architecture, but on other branches of art and science, in which, says a distinguished nobleman * of that day, she much excelled.

WREN was equally valued by the King, who was so much pleased with his designs and buildings at Hampton Court, that he more than once delivered his opinion to the English nobility who graced his Court, that the new royal apartments, for good proportion, state and convenience, were not surpassed by any palace in Europe. The King's apartments which face the privy garden and the river Thames, extend to a length of three hundred and twenty feet; the Queen's suite, which face the home park is two feet longer; the grand entrance to the principal staircase, which leads to the King's suite, is through a portico of the Ionic order, of an Italian version.

HOWEVER great this distinguished hero's genius and bravery in war and strategy undoubtedly were, his taste in the fine arts may be doubted, for Wren, who wrought at Hampton Court under Batavian influence, was never less happy than at that royal residence. This fact, says my former-quoted authority†, was acknowledged by the King, who, when the lowness and disproportioned arrangement of the cloisters or arcade under his apartments were complained of, honestly excused his architect by acknowledging that they were so constructed by his express command.

* Thomas Earl of Pembroke.

† Lord Pembroke.

THE British nation now began to feel security under a government which both executed and obeyed the laws, and under a Sovereign who acted on the principle that Kings were ordained for the good of the people, and not the people for their Kings'. Arts, manufactures and commerce began to flourish, and architecture added its graces to the rising metropolis. The battle of Aughrim and the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, put an end to the civil war in Ireland, and to the hopes of the royal exile at St. Germain, of ever being restored to the throne of his ancestors. Public associations and companies of merchants, traders and capitalists were formed, and laid the foundations of the subsequent and present wealth and power of the British nation. Domestic security, public confidence and increasing wealth were among the first fruits of a national establishment founded on law for the good of the whole community. Charitable institutions for the needy and afflicted, and schools for the education and clothing of the children of the poor were established and liberally promoted.

IN this year science and humanity mourned for the death of Robert Boyle, who, with Bacon, Locke and Newton form a quadruple of natural philosophers unequalled for their discoveries and the application of science and learning to the wants and comforts of mankind by any age or people. "To Boyle," says Herman Boerhaave, "we owe the secrets of fire, air, water, animals, vegetables and fossils, so that from his works may be deduced the whole system of natural

knowledge." Though dead he speaketh. His works are beneficial to morality and religion, and the lectures which he endowed, and so well known as the Boylean lectures, have produced many powerful orations against infidelity and atheism.

AMONG Wren's employments as Surveyor-General under the new monarchy was a command to ascertain and report to the Privy-Council upon the buildings and other properties formerly occupied by the Jesuits and Benedictine Monks, in the precincts of the ancient Savoy Palace in the Strand, which he reported * to consist of a building called the Jesuits' College, two hundred and twelve feet along the River Thames, and twenty-seven feet broad, adjoining the house, now Henry Allen's to the eastward, and to the house now possessed by the widow Salisbury, to the west. The tower at the east end of the College, about thirty-six feet square, was then debased to a laystall and public house of office, and the Jesuit's Chapel which adjoined the College on the south, and the Military Hospital or Barracks, so appropriated by Evelyn in the impolitic war with Holland, on the north ; with an office for the priests, a kitchen, with offices and yards, for the fraternity, etc. There were also two empty houses, recently occupied by the Benedictine Monks, which extended from the College to the Hospital. To such base uses had the College of the Jesuits and the Monastery of

* Privy Council M.S. in Elmes's Memoirs, p. 462, where the report is given at length.

the Benedictines in the Royal Palace of the Savoy descended.

DURING King William's absence this year in his wars against France, at the head of the alliance of Germany, England and Holland, against the tyranny of his old enemy, Louis XIV., his Queen acted as the reigning Sovereign. In this capacity, the Privy Council manuscript, so often quoted in my quarto memoirs, there is a report of Sir Christopher Wren to the Queen in relation to the stables at the Horse Guards and Royal Mews, and Her Majesty's warrant, headed "Marie R." stating that her "right-trusty and right-well-beloved cousin and Councillor, Richard Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster of our Forces, had humbly prayed us that we would be pleased to give him leave" to make certain alterations and additions to those stables, etc., and signed "Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 7th day of September, 1693, in the fifth year of our reign. By Her Majesty's command, George Clarke." As complete an act of sovereignty as either of her royal predecessors of the Tudor or the Stuart lines.

KING WILLIAM III., although at this time weak in body through his wearisome campaigns, political vexations, and arduous labours of his active life, had a capacity of mind, a moral courage, a genius for strategy and the military art, and a statesmanlike address inferior to no man of his time. These great qualities obtained for him the supreme command as Generalissimo and Stadtholder in Holland, the crown of Eng-

land and the Dictatorship of all Europe, as the head and heart of the Grand Alliance against France, whose Monarch acknowledged two Kings of Great Britain at once—the weak and superstitious James II. at his little Court of St. Germain's, the Monarch of his love, and the brave and honest William III., the object of his fear and hatred, and whom he acknowledged only by compulsion and force of arms.

WHILST the King was fighting the battles of civil and religious liberty abroad, the Queen, his *alter-ego* in rank, was cultivating the arts of civilization and domestic unity between prince and people at home.

IN 1694 Sir William Morden, an opulent and charitable merchant and citizen of London, a worthy descendant of Sir Thomas Gresham, founded and endowed that munificent establishment for aged decayed London merchants of irreproachable character, known as Morden College, Blackheath, to which his widow, Dame Morden, added considerably at her death. Wren was selected as architect, and the plan, much after that of Gresham College, London, is ingenious and well adapted to its purpose. The elevation is in the prevailing taste of William and Mary's period, rather Batavian, with statues of the liberal founders over the chief entrance, which afford correct instances of the costume of a man and woman of rank of the Court of Whitehall. The court yard with its surrounding colonnade afford shelter and comfort to the apartments of the veteran commercialists who inhabit it. The chapel is a well-proportioned building, with oak pews, carved

altar-piece, pulpit and organ gallery, in Wren's best style. The chapel of Dartmouth House, Blackheath, and that of Bohun's Almshouse, at Lee, in which he has repeated his Chelsea Hospital in little, are somewhat in the same style, and worthy of delineation by the architectural amateur, before the destroying hand of innovation, which has already passed sentence on Bohun's building, shall remove them for more modern structures in the Merchant-Tailor's-Almshouse style, in the rear of Wren's pretty Italian chapel, designed for his charitable friend Mr. Bohun. The building of Morden College, was soundly and scientifically executed by his able and honest master-mason, Edward Strong*.

QUEEN MARY II., the patron of Wren, the amiable partner of the throne of England, with the brave and warlike and politic William III., whose call to the evacuated throne of the Stuarts gave stability and a legal constitution, with civil and religious liberty, to the people, who summoned them to their high station, was seized in the winter of 1694-5, with small pox, which terminated her life in the latter end of January 1695. Wren was commanded by the widowed King, who, notwithstanding his natural reserve and dislike of affectation, deeply felt his bereavement, to design and superintend the erection of a mausoleum to the memory of the departed Queen, in Westminster Abbey, at her funeral obsequies.

BOTH William and Mary were the staunch cham-

* Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, page 168.

pions and advocates of the Protestant religion throughout Europe; and the fatal revocation of the edict of Nantes, the persecution of the Huguenots, and other Protestants, with the faithless conduct of James II., and his subsequent evasion of his country, to throw himself under the protection of its bitterest enemy, contributed more to establish his son-in-law and daughter by his first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of the Chancellor Clarendon, on his deserted throne, than all the fictions of Madame de Sevigné, and her romance of Julia, the wife of Tarquin, and her dethroned father Servius, before* alluded to, did to injure them. But Madame de Sevigné's unfeminine exultation at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and at Louis XIV.'s dragooning of the Huguenots and bitter wars against all Protestants, in her too highly-vaunted letters to her daughter, disqualify her from being an impartial judge of Mary's filial and public duties, as do her attachments to high rank and power, flattery of her daughter's beauty and talents, and her ardent care for the preservation of the former, set her up as a model for conducting a young female's education. She was a worthy sister of the exiled flatterer of Louis XIV. and of all his acts, the witty and indecent Count Bussy du Rabutin, who is so often regretted and eulogized by Father Bouhours, and reckoned by him, that is Count de Bussy, Madame de Maintenon and Madame de Sevigné, as an illustrious trio, who* should never die, as there are others who ought never to have been born.

* See Page 323.

† Bouhours' *Pensées Ingénieuses* p. 32.

THE death of Queen Mary cast a gloom over all England and Protestant Europe, for she was beloved by all who knew her personally, and honoured and respected by all, but the partizans of the bigotted and frivolous court of Versailles.

THE Duke de St. Simon in his memoirs, or rather journal, of the courts of Louis XIV, and XV. in which he lived, but to which he belonged not, relates the death of this Princess as one of two most remarkable events that occurred in 1695. One is the death of her, whom he calls the Princess of Orange*, at the end of January in London, and the other the conduct of the French Court, which took no notice of the event ; but the King of England (James II.) besought the King (Louis XIV.) not to order a court mourning, which request was not only complied with, but was accompanied by a command to M. M. Bouillon and Duras, forbidding them and all persons related to the Prince of Orange from wearing mourning ; which royal edict was obeyed outwardly, for over the inward man, the great monarch had no control. If Julia had driven over Servius, Servius had life enough left to make his own tearless eyes, on Julia's death to be the fashion at Versailles and his own little Goshen at St. Germain-en-Laye. The great and the little courts of Louis and James, soon found, says M. de St. Simon, that this petty spite, and the hopes they entertained that the event would change the new dynasty of England, soon vanished, and the Prince of Orange, as he calls King

* Supplement Tom. III., p. 111.

William III., rose higher in the estimation of the thinking people of Great Britain, more accredited among his European allies, and more firmly seated on his constitutional throne than ever. The Duke, who spoke the language of the freer members of the French nobility, wrote thus justly of the Queen*.—“ This Princess, who had been always much attached to her husband, seemed no less ardent than himself for his usurpation, nor less flattered at their elevation to the throne of her country, at the expense of her father and his other children. She died much regretted, and the Prince of Orange, who sincerely loved her, who placed entire confidence in her, and treated her with marked respect, was for some days after her death, seriously ill with grief.”

As an indication of the temper of the times, at this juncture, the jesuitical intrigues of Versailles and St. Germain were so strongly at work in Ireland, to undermine the constitutional throne of Great Britain, that the Committee of the Privy Council for the affairs of Ireland, held in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, on the 15th of April 1695, ordered† “ Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor General of his Majesty’s works,” to report to their Lordships, the state of the Beauchamps and the Bloody Towers, in the Tower of London, and the sum it would cost to repair and put them into a condition, to receive prisoners of state, and how many they would accommodate ; also to survey the ground

* Supplement Tom. III., p. 112.

† Privy Council M.S. in Elmes’ Memoirs, p. 472, note.

behind the Chapel in the Tower, whereon they proposed to erect some buildings for similar prisoners, together with the cost of the buildings and the number of prisoners they would hold, and other matters in connection therewith. To this order Sir Christopher reported, as given at length in my other work.

THE reign of King William III. re-established the ancient reformed Church of England and the protestant scriptural religion in Church and State in full and perfect freedom; and the attendance of the Archbishops and Bishops, by virtue of their baronial fiefs and as spiritual Peers of the Realm, became more frequent than in the recent reigns. The Prelates, finding the accommodations in the House of Peers too limited for their purpose, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tillotson) and the rest of the bench of Bishops applied for some convenient apartment wherein they might robe and unrobe and for other uses, and Wren was ordered * by the Lords of the Treasury to make an estimate of the costs and to report on the same, which he did with his usual promptitude and correctness, and the proper accommodation for the Right Reverend Prelates executed accordingly.

IN the course of this year the world was benefitted by the publication of Robert Boyle's posthumous work, called "A Free Discourse against Customary Swearing and a Dissuasive from Blasphemy," which Wren followed up by an order, which was affixed to various parts of St. Paul's Cathedral during its building,

* Privy Council M.S. in Elmes' Memoirs, p. 474, and notes.

stating that * “ WHEREAS, among labourers, etc., that ungodly custom of swearing is too frequently heard, to the dishonour of God, and contempt of authority ; and to the end, therefore, that such impiety may be utterly banished from these works, intended for the service of God, and the honour of religion—it is ordered, that customary swearing shall be a sufficient crime to dismiss any labourer that comes to the call ; and the clerk of the works, upon sufficient proof, shall dismiss them accordingly. And if any master, working by task, shall not, upon admonition, reform this profanation among his apprentices, servants and labourers, it shall be construed his fault ; and he shall be liable to be censured by the Commissioners. Dated this 25th of September 1695.”

At this time the Royal Palace at Greenwich, began by Wren for King Charles II., was lying, like that at Winchester, in an unfinished and decaying state ; and as the late Queen, Mary II., had long before her death proposed to found a naval hospital for aged and decayed seamen of the royal navy, a branch of the public service to which she was much attached, not only from her father’s connection with it, as Lord High Admiral of England, but from her marriage with the head of the great maritime people of Holland, it was continued after her death by King William III., and completed by Queen Anne, whose husband, Prince George

* MALCOLM’S *Anecdotes of the Manners, &c.* of London, 3 vol. 8vo. Lon. 1811, Vol. I. p. 392.

of Denmark, was also a seaman, and her Lord High Admiral.

HER MAJESTY, QUEEN MARY II., who founded this royal naval hospital*, enjoined her architect, Sir Christopher Wren, to build the fabric with great magnificence, and being very solicitous for the execution of the design, visited Greenwich at various times, to inspect the building erected by Charles II., as a part of his intended palace, and also the one built by Inigo Jones, called the Queen's house. She declared her unwillingness to demolish either of these buildings, as some persons had proposed to her; and therefore reserved a road, or right of way, one hundred and fifteen feet wide from the Thames, through the ground granted to the hospital, that she might have access by water, as well as by land, to the Queen's house and park. To this building, she proposed to add the four pavilions designed by Inigo Jones, but left unexecuted, that she might make that little palace complete as a royal villa for her own retirement, or from which foreign ambassadors, public ministers, and illustrious foreign visitors, might make their public entry, as was then the custom, into London. This decision caused the present arrangement of the buildings, with the exception of the later additions to Jones's unfinished structure, which adapted it as a handsome centre, joined by

* See HAWKSMOOR's account of the founding of this Hospital, drawn up by order of Parliament in 1728. He was a pupil of Wren, and his deputy-surveyor at Greenwich. ELMES's Memoirs, p. 480 and note.

colonnades of a feeble style to some wings of no style at all, for the royal naval school.

THE names of the various courts and buildings, which are fully described in my larger work, as the royal court, nearer the river, King Charles the Second's court on the western side, and that of Queen Anne on the eastern ; to the southward of each, are the painted hall and chapel, the interior of the latter being the first and finest specimen of Athenian architecture ever executed in Europe from the designs of James Stuart, the Athenian traveller and delineator, who was appointed architect to the establishment by the liberality and good taste of King George III. Soon after Stuart's appointment a fire destroyed Wren's chapel, which Stuart restored, externally, precisely as before, but used his own taste in decorating the interior. The great wing and pavilion next the river, which contains the Governor's residence, is the portion of the building that was erected by Charles II. as a portion of his intended palace. The other wing and rest of the building were erected by Queen Mary in the style, externally, of her uncle's intention, but internally arranged, for the officers and men, and finished accordingly by her successors, King William and Queen Anne, from the designs and under the superintendence of Wren.

THE fine Doric colonnades on the east and west sides of the southern esplanade, intended for communication from the hall on the west side and the chapel on the east to the wards and dormitories, and to protect the men from the inclemency of the weather, as well

as for air and exercise under shelter of the flat roof and ceiling. The order selected or composed by the architect is in the purest style of Roman architecture, consisting of three hundred columns and pilasters, twenty feet in height, raised on low pedestals, with a protecting balustrade between them, and surmounted by a well-proportioned entablature, all of Portland stone, beautifully executed. The perspective under these colonnades, looking either towards the river, or towards Inigo Jones's building, which Wren, with due respect to his honoured predecessor, made the centre or focus of his magnificent design, the key stone, as it were, of his tasteful royal arch.

THE western side of this colonnade is King William's court and wing, which contains the painted hall, vestibule and western cupola, the tambour of which is composed of a peristyle of duplicated columns of the Composite order, broken at the angles with groups of columns, surmounted by a circular attic without breaks, and finished by a graceful cupola, and well-proportioned lantern.

OPPOSITE to King William's building, is the court and wing of Queen Mary, which, externally is duplicate to that of King William, and contains, the before-mentioned chapel, vestibule and cupola, both containing extensive wards and dormitories.

QUEEN ANNE's building and court, with its pavilions next the river, forms the north-eastern wing, in duplicate with King Charles's court and wing, and contains,

the apartments of the Deputy-governor and other officers, etc.

THIS sketch may be termed the biography of the building ; its history, and more detailed description, being given in my larger work.

ON the 30th of June 1696, the first stone of Queen Mary's naval hospital at Greenwich was laid by Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. John Evelyn, attended by a select committee of the Royal Commissioners, at five o'clock in the afternoon precisely, after they had dined together, the Rev. Mr. Flamsteed, the Royal Professor of Astronomy, observing the precise* time, for the operation by his instruments. Evelyn was appointed treasurer, and Mr. Vanburgh, nominated secretary by the treasurer. The park was planted by Evelyn, for the use of Queen Mary's little palace, in 1694.

THE ancient and magnificent palace of Whitehall, the scene of so many important, secret and mysterious events, was consumed by fire in 1697. This metropolitan residence of our royal, republican and constitutional governments, contained upwards of one thousand apartments, and even in Cromwell's time, as mentioned in a former page†, was kept up, as Evelyn relates, in royal splendour. The altar-piece of the ancient chapel, designed by Wren, was destroyed with the rest of the sacred edifice ; but one of marble, which he designed for a private chapel of King James II., escaped the

* EVELYN'S Diary of this date.

† Page 127, and note.

flames, and was afterwards presented by Queen Anne to the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, and erected therein*.

ON the 2nd of December this year, the choir of the new Cathedral of St. Paul, was opened for divine service, on the day appointed† for a public thanksgiving for the recently-signed Treaty of Ryswick. On this occasion, so triumphant to the allied armies under King William's command, the following emphatic prayer, from the pen of Archbishop Tillotson, was added by the command of the King, to the form appointed for the day, and was introduced in the communion service‡.

“ MOST GRACIOUS FATHER, who hast remembered thy ancient loving kindness, and restored to us the public solemnities of worship in this Thy house ; we offer our devout praises and thanksgivings to Thee for this Thy mercy, humbly beseeching Thee to perfect and establish this good work. Thou, O Lord ! dwellest not in houses made with hands : heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee ; but, though Thy throne is in heaven, earth is Thy footstool. Vouchsafe, therefore, we beseech Thee, Thy gracious presence in this Thy house, to hear our prayers and accept our sacrifices of praise and thanksgivings : and grant it may never be defiled with idolatrous worship or pro-

* Parentalia p. 330.

† Sir HENRY ELLIS's Dugdale, p. 172.

‡ London Gazette, No. 3346, Dec. 2 to 6, 1697.

phaneness ; but that truth and peace may dwell in this place ; that sincere piety and devotion may be the glory of it ; that they who minister here may attend on their ministry ; that they who teach on teaching ; they who exhort, on exhortation ; they who rule, with diligence ; that Thy name may be in all things glorified, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

THE Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, preached before the King and a numerous Court at Whitehall, and the evening was finished with grand illuminations and fireworks*. This thanksgiving service at St. Paul's was the first since the great fire in 1666, and was repeated on the two following Sundays, and cathedral service, according to the reformed ritual of the ancient and apostolic Church of England, has been uninterruptedly continued therein from that great day to the present hour. May it continue !

THE congress at Ryswick and the subsequent treaty, commemorated on the above-mentioned occasion, was a signal triumph to King William III., whose ruling passion was to humble the pride and tyranny of Louis XIV. and the support of civil and religious liberty in the Protestant states of Europe, which had been so disgracefully outraged by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the subsequent dragooning of the Huguenots, and the persecution of all Protestants within the reach of that royal Jesuit. By this treaty Louis XIV. was compelled to acknowledge Wil-

* EVELYN'S Diary of this date.

liam III. as King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc., etc., in as full plenitude as any of his royal predecessors on the British throne.

THE absurd origin of this war, so disastrous to France, has been before mentioned*, and the same minister, M. le Marquis de Louvois, was the cause of a disgraceful retreat of Louis XIV. from the smaller army and worse position of the Prince of Orange. The French forces, under the command of the King in person, Marshals de Schomberg†, d'Humières, de la Feuillade, de Lorge, etc., assembled on horseback around the King, surrounded by the most distinguished general officers, ministers and courtiers, to hold a sort of *extempore* council of war. The whole army was for immediate battle. All the marshals saw clearly what ought to be done, but the presence of the King embarrassed them, but above all that of M. de Louvois, who knew his master, and kept these illustrious warriors caballing for upwards of two hours.

M. DE LOUVOIS, to intimidate the assembled soldiers, took upon himself the office of umpire or dictator, dissuaded against giving battle. Marshal d'Humières, his intimate friend, Marshal Schomberg, who sought his favours, agreed with him. Marshal de la Feuillade, who was on ill terms with M. de Louvois, but in high favour with the King, after some dubious propositions, yielded to the minister; but Marshal de Lorge, whom

* Page 147.

† Mémoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Tom. I. p. 15.

M. de St. Simon describes as inflexible for truth, anxious for the glory of his King and the welfare of his country, on ill terms with the minister in whose despite he was made a Marshal of France, used the most powerful arguments in favour of giving instant battle, to which neither de Louvois nor the others gave any reply.

THE King, who had attentively listened to the long and important debate, yielded to the arguments or rather decision of the pacific minister and his partizans, without any other remark than his regrets at being withheld by such cogent reasons, and the sacrifice he made of his wishes to their arguments for the good of the state. The submissive monarch immediately rode away with his friends, and no farther question arose on the subject of that battle.

THE next day the Marshal de Lorge sent a trumpeter to the retiring enemy, who detained him for a day or two in their camp. The Prince of Orange desired to see this messenger, and questioned him as to the causes which hindered the King of France from attacking him, being the stronger, and the two armies within sight of each other, and sent a sarcastic message to the French marshal. This fact was communicated to M. de St. Simon, by Marshal de Lorge*, "*qui étoit la vérité même*," and often mentioned it with undissembled anger. The envoy, who was proud at having been so long with the Prince of Orange, gave his message not only to the grieved marshal, but also to

* Mémoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Tom. I, p. 18.

the King, who desired to see him, and also to all the other marshals and generals, and to all who would listen to his tale, which greatly augmented the anger of the whole army, particularly against de Louvois, but more especially when the troops were excited by the merciless railleries of the public and of foreign courts.

THE King immediately departed from the army, although it was but in the month of May, and returned with his courtiers to meet* Madame de Maintenon and the ladies, and returned with them to the amorous glades of Versailles and Marly.

THE peace and subsequent treaty of Ryswick, placed the French King and his court in a state bordering on despair, and is acknowledged by his personal friend the Duke de St. Simon to have been a disgrace to the nation ; and most annoying to the personal feelings of the King, who was thereby compelled to acknowledge his enemy as King of Great Britain, etc. after so many and persevering efforts to destroy him, even by attempts at assassination ; and to receive his Am-

* This was not the first time that the gay and gallant Louis XIV. abandoned the field of Mars, for the bowers of Venus. M. de St. Simon records in his journal (*Memoires* Tom. I., p. 14) that in the war with Holland, when he had conquered and taken all before him, and the city of Amsterdam was on the eve of surrender, and was about to send him the keys of the city ; the King gave way to his impatience to see Madame de Montespan, left the army, and in one moment, destroyed all the preceding effects of his arms in that campaign, and caused the most fatal effects to the welfare of his country and his own glory.

† Ibid, p. 30.

bassador Von Bentinck, afterwards Earl and Duke of Portland, whom he treated, says St. Simon, as a species of divinity.

AFTER an entire chapter of lamentations, on the state of France after the peace of Ryswick*, M. de St. Simon says, that all the misfortunes brought on France by that event, and the subsequent conduct of the King in the war of the succession, arose from the military ignorance of the French Plenipotentiaries, and the jealousy, pride, arrogance, self-sufficiency, greediness of flattery† and vanity of the King, the latter of which placed his great kingdom and crown at the brink of destruction, and in the end lighted up the fires of war throughout all Europe.

* Sup. Tom. II, p. 383.

† One instance of Louis's vanity among many others may suffice. "Le Roi étant à la promenade, au mois de Decembre 1711, dit à ses courtisans : 'Je me crois le plus ancien Officier de Guerre du Royaume ; car j'ai été au siège de Bellegarde, en 1649.' Le Duc d'Antin ajouta, 'et le meilleur.' Mémoires de St. Simon, Tom. III. p. 316, notes et additions." This M. d'Antin was the only son of M. and Mad. de Montespan, before the adulterous intercourse between the latter and Louis XIV. On the death of his father, he had the boldness (Ib. Sup. Tom. III. p. 91) to write to the King to create him Duke d'Epéron, being then simply M. le Marquis d'Antin, and to examine his claims to that title and dignity. All the children of his mother, by the King, supplicated his Majesty after supper, to grant to him that dignity, and their prayers were backed by the Duke of Orleans, with whom both d'Antin and his mother were great favourites. The silly title of d'Epéron was but a stepping stone to the dignity of Duke, which was the essence of the request ; but the happy time was not yet arrived. Madame de Montespan was living, and too much hated by Madame de Maintenon, to please her by the elevation of her son.

THIS grossly-flattered Monarch, who scrupled not to receive from churchmen*, that he united in his own august person, the valour and military talents of David, and the piety and wisdom of Solomon, and although he made all the Kings of the earth, as high as the great river†, tremble before him, yet he humbled himself alone, to the Majesty of the living God ! Yet this union of valour, majesty, piety and wisdom, this Monarch, “ *grand par excellence*,” this sole disposer of peace and war, this chastiser of nations, this all-conquering hero, this immortal King, on whom so much pure Latin and good French, such treasures of gold and silver, bronze and marble, had been lavished in inscriptions, eulogiums, academic orations, medals, busts, statues equestrian and pedestrian ; this modern Augustus, to whom, like Alexander‡, it was not permitted for every painter or every sculptor to paint a portrait or make a statue, nor for every orator or every poet to laud his glories,

“ Pour chanter un Auguste, il faut être un Virgile § ;”

this “ monarque guerrier,” who could not be properly praised or represented unless, by the greatest geniuses of the day, quailed fearfully, after this terrible degradation by the hated and despised William of Orange.

* M. l'Abbé de Choisy, Dean of Bayeux, and Father Bouhours. See *Pensées Ingenieuses*, by the latter, Pages 169 and 170.

† The Euphrates.

‡ BOUHOURS's *Pensées Ingenieuses*, page 210.

§ M. BOILEAU DESPRAUX's “ Discours on Vers, adressé au Roi.”

His enemies, says* M. de St. Simon, rejoiced at his ruin, and negociated only to mock him. At length, they saw the great King in his place, flooded with tears in the midst of his deploring council, and† M. de Torcy was despatched instantly to the Hague to inform himself of the true state of affairs. So were the mighty put down from their seat, but whether it was the humble and meek that were exalted, belongs to the province of the historian.

IN this year Wren was appointed Surveyor-General and a commissioner for the repairs of the ancient and dilapidated Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, charging a portion of the duty on coals to defray the expenses. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the collection of Richard Gough, the eminent British topographer and antiquary, are copies of all the bills relating to the repairs of the Abbey from 1698 to 1705, attested by Sir Christopher Wren in his own handwriting. Sir Christopher was also elected a second time to the honourable and distinguished office of Grand Master of the Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons, on the resignation of the Duke of Richmond, and

* Supplément au Mémoires, Tom. II. p. 397.

† Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy, was son of M. Colbert de Croissy brother of the great Colbert. He was secretary of state and director general of the posts under Louis XIV., and was employed otherwise, than as here mentioned, as a diplomatist ; and is known among other productions by his “ Mémoires pour servir à l’Histoire des Negociations, depuis le Traité de Ryswick jusqu’à le Paix d’Utrecht.”

continued to preside over the fraternity till the death of King William, in 1702.

THE introduction of Freemasonry into England is supposed to have been prior to the Roman invasion, and the remains of those gigantic works, Stonehenge, Abury, Silbury, and other immense circles, called by some Druidical, are adduced as proofs of the proposition. The fraternity flourished with varied success in England till the reign of Charles I., under whom his eminent architect, Inigo Jones, presided as its Grand Master. The civil wars and the prevalence of puritanism in the times of Cromwell, interrupted its progress, but prevented not its meetings, which are more than suspected to have contributed by its secret emissaries to the restoration of monarchy. Charles II. certainly patronized the brotherhood both in exile and on the throne. In 1666 Wren was nominated deputy Grand Master under Earl Rivers, and distinguished himself above all his predecessors in legislating for the body at large, and in promoting the interests of the lodges under his immediate care. He was Master of the St. Paul's Lodge, which, during the building of the Cathedral, assembled at the Goose and Gridiron in St. Paul's Churchyard, and is now the Lodge of Antiquity, acting by immemorial prescription, and regularly presided at its meetings for upwards of eighteen years. During his presidency he presented that lodge with three mahogany candlesticks, beautifully carved, and the trowel and mallet which he used in laying the

first stone of the Cathedral*, which the brethren of that ancient and distinguished lodge still possess and duly appreciate.

DURING the building of the city, lodges were held by the fraternity in different places, and several new ones constituted, which were attended by the leading architects and the best builders of the day and amateur brethren of the mystic craft. In 1674 Earl Rivers resigned his grand-mastership, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was elected to the dignified office. He left the care of the Grand Lodge and the brotherhood to the deputy Grand Master Wren and his Wardens. During the short reign of James II. who tolerated no secret societies but the Jesuits, the lodges were but thinly attended; but in 1685, Sir Christopher Wren was elected Grand Master of the Order, and nominated Gabriel Cibber, the sculptor, and Edward Strong, the master mason at St. Paul's and other of the city churches, as Grand Wardens. The society has continued with various degrees of success to the present day, particularly under the grand-masterships of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV., and his brother, the late Duke of Sussex, and since the death of the latter, under that of the Earl of Zetland; and lodges under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of England are held in every part of the habitable globe, as its numerical and annually-increasing lists abundantly show.

ON the 1st of February 1699, that beautiful struc-

* June 21, 1675—See p. 281.

ture, the morning-prayer chapel at the north-west portion of St. Paul's Cathedral was opened for daily service with appropriate ceremony*, and on the 27th of the same month a fire broke out at the west end of the north aisle of the choir, in a small room, now the Prebendaries' Vestry, which was used as a working place for the organ builders, which for some time threatened destruction to the edifice, but the workmen broke away the communication between the flaming room and the organ gallery, which, with other means, stopped the progress of the flames†. The new buildings at Greenwich, for the purpose of converting the intended palace of Charles II., were began this year, the former being occupied in altering the original part to its new purpose.

IN 1700 Wren was elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis in Dorsetshire, and sat in that Parliament which commenced its session at Westminster on the 10th of February, in the twelfth year of William III. Wren had now attained the sixty-ninth year of his age, yet notwithstanding his parliamentary and professional employments, to which he paid undeviating attention, he found time to present the Royal Society with a Dissertation on the Rising of the Sap in Trees, and a Paper on the Superficies of the Terraqueous Globe.

IN the autumn of 1701, James II. who had been

* ELLIS's Dugdale, p. 172.

† STYRPE's continuation of Stowe's London, p. 172.

residing with the remnant of a court at St. Germain-en-Laye, became so debilitated in health, that he was sent by M. Fagon, first physician to Louis XIV. to drink the waters at Bourbon, and was shortly after his return, taken so seriously ill as to excite great alarm among his friends. On the 8th of September he was siezed with paralysis, and other symptoms that left no hopes of his recovery. When the French monarch heard of this hopeless state of the royal exile, he took a step, which M. de St. Simon* considers more worthy the chivalrous generosity of Louis XI., and of Francis I., than of the political wisdom of Louis XIV., that of visiting his unfortunate guest. He left Marly, where he was then residing, and reached St. Germain on the 13th of September.

JAMES was then so bad, that when the arrival of the King was announced to him, he opened his eyes, but for a moment, on the entrance of his august visiter. The French monarch told him, that he was come to assure him he might die in peace as regarded his son, whom he designated the Prince of Wales, and he would acknowledge him King of England, Scotland and Ireland. The few English persons who were present, threw themselves at Louis's feet ; but the King of England, says M. de St. Simon, gave no signs of recognition. Whether this breach of the treaty of Ryswick, which Louis had just signed with King William III., recognizing him and his successors in the protestant line as Kings of Great Britain, etc. or the word of pro-

* Supplément aux Mémoires, Tom. III. p. 248.

mise, made in the dying sufferer's ear, to be broken when convenient, be the chivalrous generosity of M. le Duc de St. Simon, must be left for French casuists to determine.

THE royal promise about the Prince of Wales, fell dead upon the ears of the dying prince, who knew by experience, the inability of the generous promiser, who had forgotten the good maxim to be just before he was generous, of restoring him to his throne, in more prosperous times, and gave no solid hopes to the young Prince, but was more probably the cause of his eventual misfortunes. During the few and brief intervals of reason, which recurred to the unhappy sufferer, he appeared sensible of the proffered services of the chivalrous Louis XIV., and made him promise, that after his death, he should be buried without pomp, and with the least possible ceremony. This event occurred on the 16th of September 1701, at three o'clock in the afternoon. On the following day, Saturday, the remains of the deceased prince, humbly accompanied and followed by some carriages containing the principal Englishmen of his establishment, were conveyed to the English Benedictine convent in St. James's Street, Paris, where they were deposited in a chapel, like those of a private gentleman, till the time might arrive, which has not yet come, when they could be carried over to England to be buried with his forefathers. His heart was entrusted to the holy keeping of the "Filles de Sainte Marie de Chaillott." This obstinate and misguided Prince had many opportunities in his

exile to reflect on the saying of Charles II. to him, when pushing his violent councils, "Brother, I am too old to go again on my travels ; you may if you please."

ON this faithless recognition of James's son as Prince of Wales, and rightful heir to the Crown of England, the Earl of Manchester, the English ambassador to the Court of France, presented himself no more at Versailles, and left the country without taking leave, a few days after the arrival of the King at Fontainebleau. King William received the news of James's death, and the recognition of his son, as his successor to the well-occupied throne of England, at his favourite country residence called the Loo, near the pretty village of Appeldoorn in Holland. He was at table with some German princes, and other noblemen ; and made no answer to the information ; but coloured, beat down his hat upon his forehead, and could not contain the emotions of his countenance. He sent orders to London for M. Poussin, the *chargé d'affaires* and proxy for the French ambassador, to be sent away forthwith, and he was soon on his voyage to announce his dismissal to his master. This decisive conduct of William was shortly followed up by the signature of the Grand alliance, defensive and offensive, against France and Spain, between the Emperor, the house of Austria, England and Holland ; which confederation was joined by other powers.

THE conduct of Louis XIV. to the exiled prince, was always conciliatory and respectful, in confident

expectancy of replacing him and the Papal ascendancy again in England. Louvois, the crafty and designing minister of the Jesuit king, and his profligate court of cardinals, mistresses and devotees, kept in his pay a corps of French*, dancing, riding and fencing masters, which he distributed as roving spies in all the courts of Europe. One of these patriots, who passed for a French refugee in Holland, corresponded with the widowed Duchess of Orleans in the time of the war with the Prince of Orange, the substance of which, she says, she communicated to the King, to give him pleasure. The King, she says, received her information agreeably enough at the beginning ; but one day said to her, laughingly, “ my ministers maintain that you are ill informed, and that your correspondent has not written a word of truth ;” to which the royal Duchess replied, “ time will show which are the best informed, Your Majesty’s ministers, or my correspondent ; for myself, Sir, my intentions were good.”

WHEN it became known that King William had returned to England, M. de Torcy went to the Duchess, and begged of her to acquaint him with what she knew of the matter. “ I have nothing to communicate,” replied Her Royal Highness, “ you have told the King, that my information was false, so I have told my correspondent to write no more.” He began to laugh, according to his custom in such circumstances,

* *Fragmens de Lettres originales de Madame Charlotte-Elizabeth, veuve de Monsieur le Duc d’Orleans.*

† *Ibid.*

and replied, "your news has been always good." The Duchess retorted, "a great and able minister like you, ought to be more assured of your information than I can be ; and I am angry with myself for having made mine known to the King. I ought to have remembered that his able ministers know everything." When the King saw the Duchess in the evening, he said, "you have been jeering my ministers ;" "I have only returned them," replied Madame briskly, "what they lent me." M. de Louvois*, says the Duchess, was the only minister of that time who was well served, because he spared no money to his secret-service men ; and after his death, these connections being dissolved, the ministers who succeeded him knew little of what passed abroad.

THE Court assemblies at Versailles and Marly, says M. de St. Simon†, whether masked or dress balls, were conducted on the same plan and etiquette, the company forming a parallelogram. At the head was an arm-chair for the King, or three for His Majesty and the exiled King and Queen of England when they came, which was often, and at the sides of these royal seats, in the same line, were placed the Royal Family down to the grandchildren of France. Such was the respect paid to the Ex-King and Queen of England by Louis-le-Grand.

* *Fragmens de Lettres originales de Madame Charlotte-Elizabeth, veuve de Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans.*

† *Supplément aux Mémoires, Tom. III. p. 206.*

THE sudden death of M. de Louvois, immediately after his disgrace with Louis XIV. and on the eve of his committal to the Bastile, excited surprise and consternation in the French Court. M. de St. Simon, who witnessed the King's reception of the news of the sudden death of his able but unprincipled minister*, hesitates not to say that it was by poison, and gives sufficient proof, by the extraordinary conduct of M. Seront†, his physician, and his miserable dying confession, that he did it in hopes to please the King and the Duchess of Orleans‡, and that he expected to be rewarded with the place of Physician to the King. But the death of the minister who formerly played the Powers of Europe like puppets for his own purposes, died, less spoken of than his miserable poisoner.

M. DE ST. SIMON, on hearing of this sudden death, was desirous, he says, of witnessing the countenance of the King on such an important event, went to attend upon him, being that day on duty, and followed him during the whole of his usual morning's walk. He appeared§, says the courteous Duke, with his accustomed majesty to all around him, but with somewhat more of a bolder and determined air than was usual with him, which much surprised the Duke. He also remarked that he did not visit his fountains and other improvements, of which Louvois had been the super-

* Mémoires, Tom. I. p. 65.

† Ibid, p. 73.

‡ Fragmens de Lettres Originales.

§ Mémoires, Tom. I. p. 63.

intendent since the death of Colbert, nor did he diversify his walks, as he had been wont to do, in the gardens, but contented himself by walking to and fro on the balustraded terrace of the Orangery, where he saw on his return the apartments of his late minister and superintendent, the scene of his sudden death. This building formed the termination of the ancient wing of the Castle of Versailles, on the side of the Orangery, and from which every one coming or going to and from the palace could be seen.

THE name of de Louvois was never mentioned, nor a word spoken about his sudden and surprising death. During this singular promenade an English officer, sent by King James from St. Germain's, was presented to the King on the terrace, and gave his royal master's condolence to His Majesty on the death of his able minister. "Sir," said the French Monarch, with an air of great carelessness, "make my compliments and thanks to the King and Queen of England, and tell them, from me, that my affairs and theirs will not proceed less happily." The English officer made his reverence to the King and retired, astonishment depicted on his countenance and whole demeanour. "I observed," says the Duke, "most carefully all that passed on that occasion, and that the principal personages who were present looked interrogatively at each other, but offered not a single word.

SCARCELY had the mortal remains of James II. been unostentatiously deposited in the English Benedictine convent, Paris, when his son-in-law and successor on

the throne of Great Britain, was called upon to set his house in order and prepare to follow him to the world of spirits.

WILLIAM III. was at this time in Holland, as before mentioned, making preparations to counteract the schemes of the French court, which was aided by Cardinal Porto Carrero, the Marquesses de Villena, and de Villa Franca, M. le Maréchal d'Harcourt, and other enemies of the house of Austria ; and their influence with Pope Innocent XII. over the broken-down mind of the imbecile Charles II., King of Spain, in favour of one of Louis's grandsons, was successfully exerted. When William heard of the death of the Spanish monarch, and his will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Duke of Orleans and grandson of the French King, he determined to strike the first blow. But when he was told of the death of James II., and the acknowledgment of his son, as King of England, by the French monarch, he felt himself at liberty to make reprisals on the faithless Louis XIV., and his grandson Philip V., the new King of Spain.

WILLIAM therefore in concert with his allies, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy, instantly declared war against France and Spain, in support of the claims of the Archduke of Austria to the crown of the latter kingdom. As soon as he had accomplished this important league, which he named the Grand-alliance, he hastened to leave Holland, and returned to England to excite the people

against the preposterous ambition of France, and to raise the necessary supplies from Parliament to carry on the war.

WORN out more by the fatigues of war, the anxieties of those great public duties, which were the objects of his life, and a delicate frame of body*, than by the number of years he had lived, the King of England fell into a weakness of health which threatened fatal consequences at a time when he was most wanted, being the most powerful opponent of a perverted ambition, and a family conspiracy against the liberties and the just equilibrium of the powers of Europe, and the head and heart of the Grand-alliance.

THIS slow decay of bodily strength, without any actual illness, or diminution of mental vigour, did not hinder in the slightest degree, his daily intense labours in the cabinet or in council. The first symptom of his complaint was a difficulty of breathing, which aggravated the asthma he had laboured under for many years. He knew the critical state of his health and disavowed it not, but consulted some of the most eminent physicians in Europe, *incognito*, that he might obtain a more faithful opinion than were his rank and person

* The Duke de St. Simon, who, like most Frenchmen of his time, thought more of the personal than of the mental qualities of his heroes, describing the fine figure, address, grand mien, and majestic carriage of those undoubted great men, Condé, de Luxembourg, Conti, etc., and even calls the debauched gormand de Vendome, a superb man, describes William III., after allowing for his military qualities, greatness of mind, spirit, and so forth, calls him in another place (Supplement aux Mémoires, Tom. IV. p. 398) "bossu et fort vilain."

known. One* of these consultations was with M. Fagon, first physician to Louis XIV., under the title of a village *Curé*. That eminent physician gave his humble patient his honest opinion, and sent him away without any directions, and with no other advice than to prepare for a speedy death. The complaint increased, and the King consulted Fagon again, but without disguise. The physician recognised the malady of his former clerical patient, gave the same opinion, but with more consideration, and prescribed gentle remedies, which though they did not cure, alleviated the sufferings, and somewhat lengthened the life of the royal patient. Equally sincere, but less courteous, was the opinion of our eminent English physician Dr. Ratcliffe, who, on seeing the King's wasting body and swelling legs, said in his rugged manner, "I would not have Your Majesty's two legs for your three kingdoms."

M. FAGON'S prescriptions were followed and produced the promised effect of soothing the irritation of the disorder. The suffering chieftain, however, knew that the greatest as well as the meanest of mankind must obey the inevitable call of the angel of death, and duly estimating the emptiness of what the world calls grand destinies, prepared himself to finish the arrangements of the great work he had undertaken to conduct.

AT intervals between his labours with his ministers, foreign ambassadors, and occasionally distinguished

* Mémoires de M. de St. Simon. Tom. III. p. 177.

principals on the all-absorbing topic of the Spanish succession and the Grand alliance, the King took a little exercise on horseback, which was not only a favourite amusement, for he was passionately fond of riding, especially hunting, was an accomplished and elegant horseman, in days when skill in horsemanship, or the science of equitation, as the French named it, was a necessary part of a gentleman's education, and as many persons said, never looked really well, or so much of the hero as when in the saddle. In one of these little excursions or airings his weakness was such, that, in spite of all his endeavours to conceal it, he fell, and was so severely shaken that he did not recover from its effects.

It is complained of this Prince by the ^{*} same journalist who elsewhere complains of the ascetic habits and pharisaical observances of Louis XIV., that in his last illness he occupied himself too little with religion, which neglect had been his habit through life. King William was certainly no Pharisee, nor pretender to sanctity, nor was he a puritan ; neither did he preside over such an adulterous and profligate Court as did his great enemy, nor did he persecute millions for professing a different creed from himself. His Christianity was more practical than professional. He did not discuss texts like Cromwell, nor dragoon unbelievers in his creed like the most Christian King ; but if his practice and Tillotson's testimony be of any avail, he served his God and the country which called him to

* Mémoires de M. De St. Simon, Tom. III. p. 178.

the throne as the Israelites did David, like a patriot King. Not but he would have ruled with a higher hand had he been permitted, as his unconstitutional attempts upon the liberties of his Dutch subjects and his endeavours to establish a standing army in England, which ended in his discomforture and the mortifying necessity of dismissing his Walloon Guards, abundantly show.

IN his last hours he preserved his characteristic decision and firmness, his enlarged and comprehensive mind and business-like habits. He ordered all things, conversed with his ministers and familiar friends, gave instructions for future proceedings with a coolness, deliberation, foresight and presence of mind that surprised all about him, and died heroically, like Nelson, doing his duty as a wise statesman, a brave soldier and a politic King. All these counsels were attended to, in spite of dreadful sufferings, interrupted by violent retching, solely occupied with the immediate object of his wishes, the accomplishment of the Grand alliance, a prevention of disunion among its members, and the hope of humbling the arrogance of France, the great enemy of the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

His waning life was sustained the last two days by cordials and restoratives, and how much of that time was occupied in spiritual communion with the King of kings, the only Ruler of princes, who heareth in secret, is more than his detractors can say. His last earthly nourishment was a cup of chocolate, when he shortly after resigned his spirit to HIM who gave it, on the

19th of March, 1702, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

THE closing scenes of life among men who have been deemed great, fortunate and happy by the world, afford excellent materials for thinking, and it was not without reason that a distinguished * French general said of his commander when he saw him fall at the head of his troops in the moment of victory—"that man was always lucky."

THE death of Marshal de Montmorenci, Duke of Luxembourg, one of the bravest and most successful opponents of William III. of England, whom the Prince de Conti named "*le tapissiere de Notre Dame*," because the walls of that church were completely covered with the flags he took from the enemy, is a case in point. This hero acknowledged on his death bed that the brilliancy of his career and the vast renown he had acquired afforded him less consolation at that moment than the remembrance of a single good act. His biographert, quoted in M. de St. Simon's Memoirs, assures us that his regrets at having served his King better than his God, were so great that he cried out "*qu'il auroit préféré à l'éclat de tant des victoires qui devenoient inutiles au tribunal de Juge des Rois et des héros, le mérite d'un verre d'eau donné aux pauvres pour l'amour de l'Etre Supreme.*"

NOR is the last act of the life of the celebrated

* Mémoires de M. de St. Simon.

† Supplément, Tom. II. p. 203.

Duke de Vendome, whose services to Louis XIV. in the affair of the Spanish succession, and many heroic deeds less instructive.

THIS distinguished French general was the grandson of one of the illegitimate sons of Henry IV., and married one of the Mancinis, a *niece* of Cardinal Mazarin. This illustrious birth and happy marriage procured for him the rank of a prince of the blood from Louis XIV., who* took every and any measure to raise

* Among other plans in furtherance of this object, was that of patronising a new history of France, in opposition to that of M. de Mezerai, by father Daniel, a Jesuit of Normandy, who was removed to the Jesuit's College, wherein he held the office of librarian, and was appointed Historiographer Royal of France, with a pension of two thousand francs. The work was published in three thick folio volumes, on excellent paper and beautiful typography. The style has been much commended, and the work was preceded by an admirable preface, magnificent promises and learned dissertation, with an air of authority becoming a veracious historian. He introduces many romantic episodes in the first race of the French Kings, more in the second, and an increase in the third. It is written with great art, and with all the appearance of liberality and candour, which while it discards prejudice, looks at facts with impartial discernments, and seeks for nothing so much as truth. The result is that according to Father Daniel, the greater part of the boldest and bravest of the Kings of the first race, many of the second, and some of the third, were mostly of adulterous and double adulterous birth, and that this trifling defect in blood, did not exclude them from the throne. The effect of this very new history of France, says M. de St. Simon (Tom. III, p. 143), was prodigious, like a fascination, and became the supreme ton ; every one ran for it, even the women, and the same interest which caused its composition, promoted its circulation. Praises of the work transpired at the parties of Mad. de Maintenon ; the King, asked everybody, had they read Pere Daniel's history. The wide awake soon caught up who were its patrons, and that it must be an admirable history to be admired by the King and Mad. de Maintenon, and read at Versailles ! It was to be found on the

his own adulterous progeny to the highest rank in the state. After a brilliant career in France, Germany and Spain, loaded with honours, satiated with self-indulgence, this high and mighty prince and (bastard) son of France proposed to himself a grand round of enjoyments during the cessation of the Austrian army from offensive operations.

IN order to be more at liberty to indulge himself at his ease he left his general officers at head quarters and took up his abode with two or three of his familiars and a company of valets, cooks and the other concomitants of a French prince's establishment at Vignard, a small thinly-inhabited town on the sea coast of Valentia. In this distant and almost-deserted village the prince of the blood royal of France and his roistering companions pitched their tents and encamped themselves that their souls might enjoy themselves in comfort. "Thou fool," says the most precious of books, "this night thy soul shall be required of thee."

ONE of the reasons for selecting this peculiar spot was that His Royal Highness might have an unlimited feast of fish, of which he was extravagantly fond, and he took his fill. In the morning he found himself much indisposed, which he attributed to his previous

tables of all who wished to stand well at Court, and its author was loaded with eulogiums, verses, etc. Truly father Daniel well deserved the title of Historiographer Royal, and his pension from this most distinguished patron of double and treble adulterers. When the book had served its purpose, it went out of fashion, was answered, but Father Daniel closed the door of his cell in the Jesuit College, and answered not his revilers.

debauch, but his illness increased so rapidly and with such extraordinary symptoms, that the few persons who were about his person, concluded it was the effect of poison, and sent in all directions for medical aid. The complaint, however, would not wait for the doctors, and the symptoms increased so rapidly that he was unable to sign a will that was presented to him ready drawn, nor a letter to the King, soliciting permission for his brother to return to Court, whence he had been banished.

HIS familiar friends who accompanied him on this gormondizing * trip immediately fled from the scene of desolation, and left the royal glutton to the tender mercies of the lowest of the valets, the others occupying themselves in pillaging all they could lay their hands on, and in following the footsteps of their superiors.

IN this pitiable condition did the deserted Prince pass the last two or three days of his life, without any attendant but a strange surgeon. The under servants who were compelled to remain with the Duke, seeing his extremity, seized the few things their fellows had left, and even, says the Duke de St. Simon†, who was well acquainted with the Prince, and his miserable end, tore the covering off his miserable body, and the

* "Il soupoit avec ses familiers largement ; il etoit grand mangeur, d'une gourmandise extraordinaire, ne se connoissoit à aucun mets, aimoit fort le poisson, et encore plus celui dont l'odeur revoltoit les autres." Mémoires de St. Simon, Tom. II. p. 255.

† Supplément aux Mémoires, Tom II. p. 203.

mattress from under him. He cried out pitiably not to be left to die naked upon the bare *paillasse*, and I know not, says M. de St. Simon, if they left him even that.

THUS perished miserably, in his fifty-eighth year, the great grandson of the illustrious Henry IV., even more miserably, and more deserted than George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham.

THE Princess des Ursins, wife of a grandee of Spain, descended from the noble French family of de la Tremouille, and at the time of this shocking death, first lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen of Spain, and an *intriguante* of the first order in favour of the French influence at Madrid, and had profited by the services of M. de Vendome in his life, determined to profit no less by his death. Therefore to make a profitable court to the Duke du Maine, Louis's favourite son by Madame de Montespan, to Madame de Maintenon, who first won Louis's heart by her attentions to this son, as his governess, and to the King himself, ordered that the body of the deceased Generalissimo should be buried, with all honour, in the Escorial. Thus was the deceased warrior overwhelmed with honours, who was suffered to die the death of a dog. This funereal honour was the more extraordinary, as the deceased was not slain in battle, nor was it usual to bury any but members of the Royal family in the Escorial.

THIS death and burial has had many counterparts in the last act of life, of many of the Popes. When the

last breath has escaped the lips of his Holiness, the velvet pall that covered his cadaverous body, the golden and jewelled crucifix, the massive candlesticks, and all the decorations of the Papal death-chamber, have fled by means as venal as those of the poor Duke de Vendome, and the holy corpse has been left as deserted. Nor has the death of the Holy Father been made known to the proper authorities, till his dutiful *nephews* and *nieces*, and his familiars, have removed as much as they can from the Pontifical apartments, and taken their departure. Then the holy remains are redressed, decorated, laid in state, and buried with all pomp in the Papal catacombs of the Vatican.

As a soothing contrast to these horrible facts, let us read, and calmly enjoy, a picture of the closing scene of life, as consoling as the others are revolting to our nature, drawn by the pen of one of England's* purest worthies.

“THE sublimity† of true wisdom is to do those things living, which are to be desired when dying. For the death of the righteous is like the descending of ripe and wholesome fruits from a pleasant and florid tree. Our senses entire, our limbs unbroken, without horrid tortures ; after provision made for our children, with a blessing entailed upon posterity, in the presence of our friends, our dearest relative closing our eyes and binding our feet, leaving a good name behind us.”

* Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

† Hic est apex summæ sapientiæ, ea viventem facere, quæ morienti essent appetenda.

THE PRINCESS ANNE, wife of Prince George of Denmark, and sister of the late Queen Mary II., was, according to the act of settlement proclaimed Queen of Great Britain, etc. A few days afterwards she appointed her consort, Prince George, Lord High Admiral of England, and Generalissimo of her forces; called the Earl of Rochester, her maternal uncle, and Lord Sunderland, to her councils, and despatched the Earl of Marlborough to Holland to execute the plans, and take the place of the late King William in the allied armies.

QUEEN ANNE continued Wren in all his appointments, and he proceeded with all the public works, as in the time of her predecessors. Wren's reputation continued undiminished, and Dr. Flamsteed, the astronomer royal, dedicated to him his remarks on Cassini's Theory of the Earth's motion, in which he says the French Astronomer had performed nothing of what he proposed, concerning the effects of the earth's motion, or the parallax of the orb at the fixed stars. He also complains to his friend of the want of truth, honesty and sincerity of Mr. Halley, as detailed in the correspondence in my larger work*.

ROBERT HOOKE, the able associate and coadjutor of Wren, the architect of the late British Museum, Aske's Hospital, Hoxton, the former Bethlehem Hospital, Moorfields, and Author of *Micographia*, and of many philosophical treatises, and one of the original members

* Page 489 and note.

of the Royal Society, died on the 3rd of March 1705, in the 68th year of his age, after many years suffering from internal decay. He was buried in the church of St. Helen, Bishopsgate-street, and attended to the grave by all the Fellows of the Royal Society, who were then in London ; performing the last offices of respect and friendship to him, who when alive had contributed so much to science, and been in such close connection with the greatest philosophers of the day, both English and foreign.

IN the following year Wren lost his old and valuable friend, John Evelyn, who lived for the good of his country and humanity to the patriarchal age of eighty-five. Few men that have done more honour to the English nation, left a greater debt of gratitude due from posterity than this great, good and amiable man, John Evelyn, who stands in the foremost rank of British worthies and benefactors. Steady in undeviating loyalty to his Sovereigns, he could see and point out their profligacy and lament their errors. Descended from an ancient and honourable family, possessed of sufficient wealth for all his wants and charities, he served his country in various public capacities, particularly in that of the royal navy, and no one deserves a statue of gratitude in the Royal Hospital of Greenwich more than this benefactor of the human race. His works on the sanatory improvements of the country, in the abolition of the smoke nuisance, his writings, and, moreover, his doings on planting and arboriculture, have contributed more to the materials of "the wooden

walls of old England," to borrow a nautical phrase, and probably thereby to the salvation of the country during the terrific and proselyting war of destruction of the French revolution than all the money Pitt was able to raise by his loans, had Evelyn not written nor planted. The next statue that England raises in gratitude to a true British patriot ought to be to JOHN EVELYN. His Diary is one of the finest pictures of the mind of a virtuous honest man, a true patriot and a pure Christian, that was ever penned.

IN 1708 the cupola of St. Paul's was covered with lead, and the statue of Queen Anne, supported by figures representing the four quarters of the globe, in the western court of its enclosure, from the chisel of Francis Bird, was erected. This sculptor also carved the * basso-rilievo of St. Paul's conversion, in the tympanum of the western pediment and the sculptures under the western portico.

IN the course of this year the Act of Parliament (Anno 7^o Annæ Reginæ, Cap. XXXII., Sec. 9) for building fifty new churches in the metropolis was passed, and Wren was appointed one of the commissioners for carrying it into execution. Preparatory to entering on his new appointment, he communicated his opinions to one of his brother commissioners upon the best manner of conducting this important business. This document, which is very long, consisting of eight sections, with a proemium and conclusion, is given at

* WALPOLE'S Anecdotes of Paintings, etc.

length in the *Parentalia*, page 328, and in my larger work * on the architect's life and works.

THIS important paper begins by stating that since Providence in great mercy had protracted his age—his seventy-eighth year—to the finishing of the Cathedral of St. Paul † and the parochial churches of London, all of which were executed during the fatigues of his employment in the service of the crown for so many reigns, and being constituted one of the commissioners for building fifty more churches in London and Westminster, he presumed to communicate his sentiments, after long experience. He advised that the new churches be built not in the extremities of the suburbs, but among the thicker inhabitants, even if the ground should cost more. He wished that all burials in churches should be disallowed, as being not only unhealthy, but that the pavements could not be kept even, nor the pews upright; and if the churchyards were close about the church, would be bad, because the ground being continually raised by the graves would cause in time, a descent into the church by steps, which renders it damp and unwholesome, and causes the walls to be green, as seen in all old churches.

WHAT a pity it is, that this sound practical advice, given a century and a half ago, had not been followed. Had it been, the shocking unwholesome nuisances of

* Page 492, and note.

† The first stone of St. Paul's was laid in 1675, and the last on the summit of the lantern in 1710. See the last entry but one in the Wren MS., Chap. IV. of this work.

most of the City Churches built by Wren, would have been avoided, particularly those disgusting heaps of rotting humanity, St. Andrew Holborn and St. Bride Fleet Street, where the charnel heaps rise up as high as the one-pair windows of the dwelling-houses, and the vaults exhale pestilence into the nostril of the resident citizens.

IN reply to a question, where shall be the burials ? Wren answers, in cemeteries situated in the outskirts of the town. A piece of ground of two acres in the fields he says, may be purchased for much less than two roods among the buildings ; and that in such cemeteries decently planted, the dead need not be disturbed at the pleasure of the sexton, or piled four or five upon each other, or bones thrown out to gain room. The other parts of his recommendations for the planting and arrangement of cemeteries, their monuments, etc. agree so well with those of Pere la Chaise near Paris, that he no doubt had it in his mind's eye when he wrote it ; and it has been followed in our lately constructed cemeteries round the metropolis. Another consideration, he mentions, is, that if the cemeteries were thus thrown into the fields, that they would bound the metropolis, with a graceful border, which was then encircled with scavengers' dunghills. How very short time ago is it, that the upper part of Gray's-inn Lane was a colony of cinder-sifters and pigs, and the site of the London University and the Regent's Park, a lay-stall for night-carts, and thence called by the facetious Theodore Hook, the Spice Islands and Stinkomalee ?

HE next discusses the best situations, forms, ornaments and materials, as stone, lime and brick, which latter material he proves from ancient ruins could be made as good in London as in ancient Rome if properly managed, although those made for the thousand and one houses hastily run up after the fire, would scarcely bear the slightest weight. In this discussion, Wren takes occasion to mention, incidentally, the superiority of stone-lime over that burned from chalk, then and subsequently so much used in London, from its contiguity to the chalk cliffs of Kent and Essex. The vaulting of St. Paul's he says, is coated by a rendering as hard as stone, composed of cockleshell-lime and sand well beaten, and the more labour in the beating, the better, and the mortar the better.

CHURCHWARDENS, he says, may be careless in speedily repairing drips, but they will usually whitewash the church and set up their names, but neglect to preserve the roof over their heads. He next proceeds to discuss the capacity and dimensions of the proposed new churches and a mode of calculation to determine them. From the number of inhabitants for whom these churches were to be built, which he calculated at four hundred thousand, or five times as many as were burnt out in the city. The churches, therefore, he says, must necessarily be large, and if they were built to hold two thousand persons each the accommodation would fall very short of the requisites. But, he adds, in our reformed religion it would seem vain to make a parish church larger than that all who are present can

both hear and see the preacher. The Romanists indeed may build larger churches—it is enough if they hear the murmur of the mass and the elevation of the host, but ours should be fitted for auditories. He considered it to be hardly practicable to make a single room so capacious, with pews and galleries, as to hold above two thousand persons, and all to hear the service, and both to hear distinctly and see the preacher. He endeavoured to effect these objects, he says, in building the parish church of St. James, Westminster, which he presumed was the most capacious, with these qualifications, that had then been built; and yet at a solemn time when the church was much crowded, he could not discern from a gallery that two thousand persons were present.

IN this admirable church, which is a school of scientific construction and architectural economy, our great architect mentions, that although very broad, seventy feet between the walls, and the nave arched over, yet as there are no walls of a second order, nor lanterns, nor buttresses, but that the whole roof rests upon the columns, as do also the galleries, he considered it to be found beautiful and convenient, and, as such, the cheapest of any form he could invent. In my quarto memoirs of Wren is an engraved section of this very original piece of construction, engraved by the late Wilson Lowry, F.R.S., from a drawing made from actual measurement, by my excellent friend, Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A., Regius Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy of Arts, and Wren's worthy successor in the care of our

great metropolitan cathedral when the church above alluded to was being repaired under his scientific directions. It may be said of this church, and many of this great architect's works, whoever wishes to acquire a knowledge of architectural construction, which is at the same time scientific, durable, beautiful and economical, must give his days and nights to the study of the executed works of Wren.

CONCERNING the placing the pulpit, Wren conceived that a moderate voice might be heard fifty feet distant in front of the preacher, thirty feet on each side, and twenty feet behind him ; and not so far, unless the pronunciation be distinct and equal, without losing the voice at the last word of the sentence, which is commonly emphatical, and if obscured spoils the whole sense. A Frenchman is heard further than an English preacher, because he raises his voice and sinks not his last words. He mentions this subject as being an insufferable fault in the pronunciation of some otherwise excellent preachers, which schoolmasters might correct in the young, as a vicious pronunciation, and not as the Roman orators spoke ; for the principal verb is in Latin usually the last word, and if that be lost, what becomes of the sentence ?

AN eminent Prelate and many distinguished preachers of our reformed Church have assured me that they have found Wren's three largest and perhaps best churches, those of St. James, Westminster, St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. Bride, Fleet Street, to be incomparably the easiest churches they ever preached in, and wherein

they found, by the demeanour of their congregation, they made themselves the best heard and understood.

FROM the preceding facts Wren drew the conclusion that the best size for the proposed new churches were at least sixty feet broad and ninety feet long, besides a chancel at one end and a belfry and portico at the other.

HE would not have a church so filled with pews but that the poor might have room enough to stand and sit in the aisles, *for to them equally is the gospel preached*. He moreover considered it to be desirable that there should be no pews in churches but only benches, and complains there was no stemming the tide of profit and the advantage of the pew-openers.

WREN's advice for the purchase of houses and tenements required for the new churches was judicious, and the plan having been successful at St. Paul's, he recommended its adoption to his brother commissioners for the fifty new churches. His method was in purchasing the houses and ground on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral, where in some places houses were but eleven feet distant from the fabric, which was thereby exposed to the continual danger of fire. These houses had been hastily built immediately after the fire, on the old sites, without waiting for the adoption of Wren's novel and beautiful plan for rebuilding the city. These houses, seventeen in number, were all held on leases from the Bishop * of London, the Dean alone or the Dean and

* Not Bishop Compton, who did not become Bishop of London till nearly sixteen years after the fire.

Chapter, and the Minor Canons of the Cathedral, with a variety of under-tenants. He first recompensed the clerical body and their successors with freehold rents of equal value, and had to assess an equitable consideration for the property held by the tenants in possession, to find the value of which he learned by diligent enquiry what the inheritance of houses in that quarter were usually valued at. This he found to be fifteen years' purchase at the most, and proportionably to that the value of each lease was soon ascertained by referring to the map and rental of the estate.

THESE rates, he and his fellow-commissioners were determined not to recede from, and such value was offered to each tenant in possession, and to shorten debate, which all abounded in, they were informed, that the commissioners were guided by one uniform method, from which they would not deviate. They soon found three or four reasonable men, who agreed to those terms, which were immediately paid, and their houses taken down. Others, who stood out at first, soon found themselves enveloped in dust and rubbish, and that ready money was better, in their situations, than a continuance of rent, taxes and dues, followed their neighbours' examples, and made way for the wholesome improvement.

THE greatest dispute about the tenants' charges, was for the fittings up of their houses, for their particular trades ; for which Wren allowed one year's purchase, and permitted them to remove their fittings and wainscot, reserving to the commissioners, only the

fabric of the house. This affair, says Wren, gratulatorily, was finished, without a judicatory or a jury.

CENSURE is a tax which all distinguished men must pay for their eminence, and Wren escaped not its penalties. The attacks made upon him, verbally and by pamphlets, are detailed in my larger work*. One mode was, that there being a clause in an Act of Parliament, which suspended a moiety of the Architect's salary at St. Paul's till the building was finished, some of the new and younger commissioners, who knew not Wren, nor his services, obstructed to the utmost of their power all his measures for completing the fabric. Wren, therefore, petitioned the Queen, to interpose her royal authority, so that he might be suffered to finish the Cathedral, in such manner as Her Majesty should please to direct. The Queen commanded this petition to be delivered by the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Lord Chamberlain, to the commissioners, who replied in a long series of excuses, denials, and accusations against under workmen, artificers, etc. which did not inculcate the Architect in any way.

To this document, Wren replied by a pamphlet †, and an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, the chief commissioners for the building. In the latter, he recites the clauses relative to the coal duty and its application; and that which related to the detention of half his salary till the

* See Part I, page 30, and Part II, p. 498.

† Called "An Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled Frauds and Abuses at St. Paul's, 8vo. 1713.

works were completed. By this latter clause, he conceived it to imply that the building, and everything connected therewith, was under his management and direction, and that it was in his power to hasten or retard it. Both of which he appealed to them as knowing the contrary, and to what extent he had been limited and confined. However, as it had pleased God so to bless his sincere endeavours, that he had brought the building to a conclusion, so far as was in his power; he thought nothing could be said to remain unperfected, but the iron fence round the church, and painting the cupola; the directing of which had been taken from him. He, therefore, hoped that he was neither answerable for them, nor that the suspending clause could, or ought to affect him any further on that account, and prayed that it be so considered, and the balance paid to him.

THIS representation was referred to the Attorney-General, who gave his opinion, that he considered Sir Christopher Wren's case to be very hard; inasmuch as the stopping half his salary, being intended to encourage him to use his utmost diligence to finish the Cathedral; which for all that appeared, he had done, and the not finishing it was not his fault, but that of others. But if the church remained unfinished the commissioners had no alternative; but in justice should determine the manner of doing it, that the charge of an architect might be saved, and Sir Christopher receive the balance of his salary.

THE opinion of the Attorney-General being incon-

clusive, and the architectural part of the Cathedral being completed, Wren petitioned the House of Commons to the same effect ; whereupon the Honourable House considered his case, and were so well satisfied with its justice, as to declare the Cathedral to be finished, so far as was required to be done by Sir Christopher Wren, as Surveyor-General, and ordered that the suspended salary be paid to him on or before the 25th of December 1711.

WREN expressed his grateful sense of this just decision of the British Senate, whilst he remembered the unjust treatment he had received from some members of the late commission for building St. Paul's, which was such as gave him reason to think, they intended that he should receive none of his suspended salary, if it had been in their power to have kept it from him. All the documents connected with these disputes, as well as a petition to the Queen, in relation to the blocks of marble, which Her Majesty had, on Wren's application, given for her statue and surrounding figures, the completion of which had been frustrated by the same unworthy commissioners, and which led again to their discomfiture, are given at length in *Parentalia*, and my quarto memoirs of Wren.

IN 1712, Dr. John Woodward, Professor of Physic in Gresham College, a Fellow, and on the Council, of the Royal Society, and author of several archæological works of some repute in his day, dedicated his work*

* This work went through three editions, the first printed in London, 1707, the second at Oxford, 1712, and the third in London, 1723.

on various Roman antiquities, excavated in London, with reflections on its ancient, and, then, present state, to Wren, who wrote some observations on its antiquities, but could not be persuaded by the learned Doctor, that the Roman temple of Diana, stood on the site now occupied by St. Paul's, although Dr. Woodward had prepared a dissertation upon her statue, as represented on a sacrificial vessel dug up near the Cathedral.

THIS gentleman was possessor of the celebrated antique shield, representing, as he contended, Rome after its destruction by the Gauls, and the weighing of the gold to purchase their retreat. The doctor had several casts made from it, and in 1705, an engraving by Van Gunst, of Amsterdam, the size of the original antique, prints * from which he sent to the most learned men and bodies in Europe. This is the celebrated shield that was so unmercifully scoured by Arbuthnot and Pope, in their *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*.

† "Poor Vadius, long with learned spleen devour'd,

Can taste no pleasure since his shield was scour'd.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1712 Wren's eldest son, Christopher, was elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Windsor, for which place his father had previously sat in several Parliaments, and in 1713 he presented his late constituents of that place with a statue of the Prince of Denmark, which, with a Latin

* *WARD'S Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 290.

† Pope.

inscription, indicating who it represents, and by whom it was presented, was placed in a niche on the south side of the Town Hall, in correspondence with one on the north side, which represents his Royal Consort and Sovereign, Queen Anne.

ON the 14th of July, 1714, Wren lost the last of his English royal patrons, Queen Anne, whose character belongs to history, which has done justice to the great military and political events of her reign, but her personal virtues and excellencies have not yet been duly estimated.

SWIFT, who was neither a courtier nor a flatterer, and knew as well as any man of his time the character of that excellent Princess, says of her—"When was there ever a better Princess on the throne than the present Queen? I do not talk of her government, her love of the people, or qualities that are purely regal, but her piety, charity, temperance and conjugal love."

PURSUANT to the Act of Succession, the late Queen was immediately succeeded by the Elector of Hanover, and was proclaimed as George, King of Great Britain, etc. At the meeting of the new Parliament, Mr. Christopher Wren was again returned as member for the borough of Windsor. The commission, under the great seal, for building St. Paul's having also expired by the death of the good Queen Anne, a new commission, dated 1^o Geo. for carrying on, finishing and adorning the Cathedral was issued in which Sir Christopher Wren was again included, and the name of his

illustrious friend and philosophical coadjutor, Sir Isaac Newton, appeared for the first time.

THE finishing and adorning the new Cathedral continued under the new commission, and the persecution of the veteran architect, now in the eighty-fourth year of his age, increased as they proceeded, and he had now no patron on the throne, for King George preferred his own countrymen and those Englishmen with whom he had been connected on the Continent, to the forming of new connections in England and the patronising of art and science. One of King George's maxims was, never to desert an old friend.

THE new King, George, had the wisdom to call into his councils, James, the first Earl of Stanhope, an accomplished statesman sincerely attached to the principles of the revolution. He had accompanied his father when ambassador from William III. to the Court of Spain, was a brave and able soldier who had served as a volunteer in Flanders under King William, and as a Brigadier-General under the Earl of Peterborough at the taking of Barcelona, and was also a well-educated English gentleman, as his correspondence with the Abbé Vertot, respecting the Constitution of the Roman Senate, published in 1721, sufficiently proves.

ON the accession of King George, Lord Stanhope was received at court with great favour, and appointed one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State. In 1716 he accompanied the King to Hanover, where he was

principally occupied in negotiating with the Duke of * Orleans, Regent of France, during the minority of the young King, Louis XV., who had just succeeded to the crown of his great-grandfather, Louis XIV., and with the States General, which negotiation removed the Pretender and his partizans beyond the Alps.

THE execution of this treaty by the profligate Regent and his infamous minister and preceptor, Cardinal Dubois, is thus described by one† of the Duke of Orleans' most attached friends and apologists. The government proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, an ordinance commanding all Foreign rebels to leave every part of the kingdom of France within eight days. Strict search was made for all who disobeyed this order, and all who were found were punished with the greatest rigour. These Foreign rebels were no other than the English followers and friends of the Prince, who had been recognised as King of England by Louis XIV., together with their unfortunate master and his little Court. This, says M. de St. Simon, was one of the effects of the journey of the Earl of Stanhope to Paris, and only the execution of an infamous clause, till then suspended, in the treaty made by Cardinal Dubois with England, which gained everything, and France nothing, but a destructive infamy.

* This Prince married Mademoiselle de Blois, the refusal of whom by King William III. gave such mortal offence to Louis XIV. See page 319 of this work.

† Supplément aux Mémoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Tom. III., p. 142.

THE French protestants who found an asylum in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes gave no disquietude to France, where no one had a right to the crown but the heirs male in the direct line. Therefore, says M. de St. Simon, the reciprocity stipulated for in the same treaty could have no reference to the French refugees in England, who were neither rebels nor enemies to the reigning family of France. The reciprocal article he therefore considered as a blind to hide the intentions and to serve the interests, not of the English people, but of the King of England and his ministers, who feared even the shadow of a true and legitimate King, even when confined to Rome with his English partizans, or supported by those who through dissatisfaction favoured his party without caring for his person.

M. DE ST. SIMON, however, did not know the feelings of the majority of the English people against the insincerity, fraud and treachery of the Stuart race, which they were so long in shaking off, though he himself has exposed the hypocritical conduct of Louis XIV. towards James II., and his faithless disregard of treaties made with William III. Being then in a peaceful and honourable retirement from the most irreligious and profligate Court in Europe, as distant from the intrigues which fomented and fostered the rebellion in Scotland, in favour of Louis the fourteenth's *protégée*, and the signal defeat at the battle of Preston Pans, he could form no sound opinion of English feeling. Nor could he know how far they repudiated, as a con-

stitutional King, the son of a Popish Monarch, whom they had driven from the throne, for attacking all their privileges, a Prince who had been brought up in France, who had learned all his lessons of Government from his expatriated father, and nourished all the vices and bigotries of the Ludovican court ; and preferred the succession of the Hanoverian family, which could be withheld by the bridle of the law.

LORD VISCOUNT STAIR*, who was at that time the English Ambassador in France, and the Abbé Dubois, who sought the Roman purple through the interest of King George, who was then on the best terms with the Emperor Charles VI., were the chief instruments of the good understanding between the English ministers and the French Regent. Lord Stair, like an able ambassador, did his best for the interests of the government who had sent him to France for the good of his country, and often turned trifles to great advantage. Among other arts, he cultivated the good services of M. Rémond, a low, intriguing *savant*, a debauchée, a slave to every vice, but was a favourite of the Abbé Dubois, who governed both the Regent and the King. He was also in great favour with the Marquis de Canillac, who patronised him on account of his agreeable manners, his wit, his

* M. de St. Simon in an interesting account of the origin of the connection between the English court, and that of the Regent Orleans, continually calls this nobleman, the eldest son of John Dalrymple, who was created Viscount Stair, by William III. "Mi-lord Flairs," but Frenchmen are not remarkably attentive to foreign orthography. Supp. Tom. I. p. 208.

pleasant explanations of obscure Greek obscenities ; and the Abbé used him for his abilities in intrigue, his respectful manners and adulation.

THIS man was too useful to be neglected by the sagacious Englishman, and he paid his court, accordingly, to this useful political instrument ; who, in return for his Lordship's condescension, lauded his abilities, vaunted his genius, his impartiality, and otherwise magnified the great and good Lord Stair to his two especial patrons ; and to his Lordship, he promised their influence with the Regent. He acted between these great parties as if he was commissioned by one of them to make confidential advances to the other ; and played his part so well, that the meetings of these distinguished personages, which appeared at first to be merely those of society and politeness, arising from mutual esteem, were soon converted into real business.

M. DE CANILLAC, whom his friend describes as a man with much wit and little sense, a luminary who dimmed his own light by his frivolities, and who occupied the seat of judgment in his own house, and was afflicted with a continual flux of speech, that pleased no one so much as himself, and led him into many mistakes. The prudent Lord Stair, well instructed by the convenient M. Rémond, omitted neither silent respect, nor liberal protestations of admiration, which was the weak side of M. de Canillac. The continued cajolings of Lord Stair gained the heart of the French Marquis, who could not resist the fascination, of imagining that the English Ambassador bowed before his

merit, and that the great personage humbled himself before his vast talents. In return, he, of course, admired and applauded the wit, the capacity, and the extended views, of the British Plenipotentiary. The open rupture between Lord Stair, and the government of the late King, was a powerful attraction for Canillac, who hated all persons in credit and in place, and all who placed them there ; and finally the English Envoy managed the French Statesman so well, that the latter saw nothing, but through Lord Stair. The intimacy of Canillac with the Duke de Noailles, whose brilliant military successes in Spain, had procured him a high reputation and the appointment of Viceroy of Catalonia, led Rémond to wish the same to exist between Lord Stair and Marshal Noailles. To effect this object, he took similar measures with the Duke to those which had been so successful with the Viscount ; his maxim being, never to contradict and always to admire ; and he again succeeded. As for the Abbé Dubois, the connection was soon concluded, as the churchman no less desired it than the diplomatist.

THE Earl of Stanhope was then Secretary of State to King George, who disliked the measures of Queen Anne and her ministers, no less than the French ministry did those of Louis XIV. The Earl's father, Mr. Stanhope, Envoy-extraordinary from William III. to the Court of Spain had passed some time in Paris, and had often met the Abbé Dubois at the house of Lady Sandwich, who had resided many years at the

French Court, and intrigued* with Dubois. Dubois and Mr. Stanhope were great friends and companions, and was introduced by his reverend and gallant friend to the Duke of Orleans, who afterwards received him familiarly and invited him to some of his parties. Stanhope and Dubois often corresponded, through Lady Sandwich, after the return of the former to England.

THE Earl of Stanhope had also been in Paris, during the tour he made in France and Italy, and had also become acquainted with Dubois and his coterie ; and when he became Secretary of State to the King of England, the Abbé whose ambition and love of intrigue, allowed him no repose, built all manner of imaginary plans on his former intimacy with the English minister. He therefore directed the views of his former pupil, the Regent of France, towards the King of England. Dubois renewed his acquaintance with Stair, and used all his influence to get him to speak on the business to the Regent, and reminded him of their former intimacy with Lord Stanhope. The English Ambassador wished for this opportunity, no less than the Abbé, and communicated through the subtle priest, that he had affairs, which could not be delivered but in person. Every thing proceeded to their wishes, but being mutually unacquainted with the union which Rémond had concerted between Stair, Canillac and Dubois, and that which Canillac had accomplished between the English Ambassador and M. de Noailles ; but a triumvirate

* Supplément aux Mémoires de M. le duc de St. Simon, Tom. I. p. 211.

had been formed between de Noailles, Canillac and Dubois, which formed a plot, underplot and counterplot enough for a Spanish comedy.

By these means, the Jacobites were expelled from every part of France; Dubois obtained the purple, put away the wife, whom he had clandestinely married, became Archbishop of Cambray, the richest in France, a member of the Council of Regency, was consecrated with extraordinary pomp in the Cathedral of Val-de-Grace, by Cardinal de Rohan, and a pensioner* of England. To show his gratitude for the latter favour, he procured the aid of Monseigneur le Duc, son of the Prince de Condé, through the influence of Madame de Prie, a woman endowed with the beauty, the air and the form of a nymph; witty and well read, for her time, but possessed of the direst passions, as ambition, avarice, hatred, revenge, and unbounded domination, for whom the all-powerful Cardinal procured a pension

* Supplément aux Mémoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, Tom. I. p. 333. M. de St. Simon (Mémoires, Tom. III. p. 23) gives the following abstract of the Revenues enjoyed by this *eminent* son of the Romish Church—

Cambray	120,000	}	324,000 livres	
Nogent sous Corny	10,000			
Saint-Just	10,000			
Marivaux	12,000			
Bourgueil	12,000			
Berguet-Saint-Vinox . . .	60,000			
Saint-Bertin	80,000	}	1,230,000 livres	
Cercamp	20,000			
Premier Ministre	150,000			
Les Postes	100,000			
Pension d'Angleterre . .	980,000			
Totale		<u>1,554,000 livres</u>		

of equal amount* with his own. Four months after the death of Dubois, M. de Fleury, preceptor to the young King, accused (*bombarded*, says M. de St. Simon) M. le Duc, in his place, of this profligate act; yet made him a phantom Prime Minister to his pupil, Louis XV. who had then attained his majority, and be, himself, "Viceroy over him."

SUCH were the secret causes which effected the expulsion of the wretched Stuarts and the unfortunate Jacobites, from the kingdom of France.

BRIBERY and corruption, which led to these results abroad, were employed so openly at home, that no one considered Sir Robert Walpole's assertion, that "every man had his price" to be untrue. Wren, one of the most disinterested of men, and who knew and studied every thing better than the art of enriching himself, fell a victim to the arts of intrigue and bribery.

THE King preferred his own country and his former friends, both to England and new acquaintances, for whatever faults he may have possessed, desertion of his friends was not among them. But as money had worked such wonders in Paris, and the aid of the Regent of France and his pious ministry, had been bought at a very high price, the conscientious ministers of the King of England, found it necessary to become sellers, and therefore every place at their disposal became a marketable commodity; and Wren's office of Surveyor-General of His Majesty's works and buildings, which he had held with unequalled ability and

* 980,000 livres.

honour to himself and advantage to his country, for a period of more than half a century, being appointed deputy to Sir John Denham, “*one of the Fathers of English poetry,” in 1666, and succeeded as principal, by warrant under the Privy Seal, March 6, 1668, after the death of the poet, (who held it more as a means for supplying his necessities than to exhibit his qualifications,) till he was superseded in favour of Mr. Benson in April 1718.

It is not a little singular, that Wren succeeded a poet and was superseded by a poetaster. William Benson was a critic of some repute in his day and a very minor poet. He published, among other forgotten things†, “Virgil’s Husbandry, with notes critical and rustical;” “Letters on Poetical Translations,” and an edition of Arthur Johnson’s Latin version of the Psalms. In a scarce‡ work, the author, a man of good repute, asserts that “it is very well known that Mr. Benson was a favourite with the Germans; and I believe nobody had more occasion to be convinced of the power of its influence than myself; so great indeed was it, that Sir Christopher Wren, the famous Architect, who contrived the stately edifice of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and finished it in his own time, was turned out of his employment of Master of the King’s Works, which he had possessed ever since the Restoration, to make room

* Dr. Johnson.

† Nichols’s Literary Anecdotes.

‡ Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland in North Britain by himself, and dedicated to Sir Robert Walpole, 8vo. London, 1726.

for this favourite of Foreigners." In another part of the same work, Mr. Ker says of the corruption of King George's court*, "Robert Walpole, Esq. had obtained a patent for the reversion of a place in the Customs for his son, which Mr. Benson, before-mentioned, being informed of, he told Mr. Walpole, he was in terms of disposing of it to another for £1500, but would let Mr. Walpole have it for the same sum, if he pleased ; and upon that gentleman contemptuously rejecting it, he so resented it, that Mr. Walpole was turned out of his posts, and of all favour at court, even at a time when he was about to execute a great public good, that of reducing the National Debt."

THUS was removed the man, of whom Sir Robert Walpole† said, "the length of whose life enriched the reigns of several Princes, and disgraced the last of them." Another close examiner into the facts of this reign, remarks on this transaction, that‡ "none could credit it, but those who know how the demon of politics, like that of fate, confounds all distinctions ; how it elevates blockheads, how it depresses men of talents, how it tears from the mouth of genius, exhausted with toil for the public good and bending under a load of helpless age, for which it has made no provision, that bread which it bestows upon the idle and the selfish ; upon those whose life and death, as the acute Roman historian, Sallust, says, are nearly the same."

* Ker's Memoirs, p. 109.

† Ibid, p. 110.

‡ SEWARD'S Anecdotes.

IN the first edition of the *Dunciad*, Pope thus celebrates the supplanter of Wren—

“Beneath this reign shall Eusden wear the bays,
Cibber preside Lord Chancellor of plays,
BENSON sole judge of architecture sit,
And namby-pamby be preferr’d for wit!”

IN the subsequent editions the satirist altered this passage as follows—

“See, see, our own true Phœbus wears the bays!
Our Midas sits Lord Chancellor of plays!
On poets’* tombs see BENSON’s titles writ!
Lo, Ambrose Phillips is preferr’d for wit!”

IN a note†, he adds, “in favour of this man, the famous Sir Christopher Wren, who had been Architect to the crown for above fifty years, who had built most of the churches in London, laid the first stone of St. Paul’s, and lived to finish it, had been displaced from his employment at the age of near ninety years.” But of Wren our great poet says—

“See under‡ Ripley rise a new Whitehall,
While Jones’ and Boyle’s united labours fall;
While WREN with sorrow to the grave descends,
Gay dies unpension’d with a hundred friends.”

HORACE WALPOLE, in writing of the beginning and completion of St. Paul’s, and of Wren’s occasional visits

* Alluding to Benson’s monument to Milton in Westminster Abbey.

† The *Dunciad*, Book III. v. 325, and note.

‡ Architect to the Admiralty Offices, Whitehall, and inventor of the lanky bed-post columns of the portico, now hidden from public contempt, by Adams’s Grecian screen.

to survey his great work, considers them, "as a fabric and an event which, one cannot wonder, left such an impression of content on the mind of the good old man ; that being carried to see it once a year, it seemed to recall a memory that was almost deadened to every other use."

IN allusion to the unmerited persecutions inflicted upon his old friend and much-loved companion in early life, Bishop Sprat condoled with Wren, in an epigrammatic quatrain, saying—

" Heroic souls a nobler lustre find,
E'en from those griefs which break a vulgar mind :
That frost which cracks the brittle common glass,
Makes crystal into stronger brightness pass."

THE persecution of Wren by the higher powers, encouraged his former minor persecutors, now he had lost his protectors, to imitate their superiors, and, as a Roman poet says, imitators are but a servile race of cattle, their coarse flings could not but affect a sensitive mind. Either to renew their charge that the architectural part of St. Paul's was unfinished, or an unmitigated bad taste in the commissioners, they met in conclave, and determined that the classical termination of the upper cornice by an acroterium, or blocking course, with which the Architect, after the most approved ancient examples, was not a sufficient finish. They therefore resolved to go beyond their last, and condemn the judgment of the British Vitruvius, by ordering a balustrade, such as is only proper to a terrace walk, should be erected, over the gutters of the roofs, wherein no one

ever walked, or through which no one wished to peer, but the dingy city sparrows or the labourers who might be required to clean and repair them. Neither is there any example of such a needless excrescence in any Greek or Roman building, although many historical painters of the ornamental school, have thus disfigured their imaginary edifices. They accordingly sent him a copy of their resolution of the 15th of October 1717*, "that a balustrade of stone be set up on the top of the Church, unless Sir Christopher Wren, do in writing, under his hand, set forth, that it is contrary to the principles of Architecture, and give his opinion in a fortnight's time ; and if he doth not, then the resolution of a balustrade is to be proceeded with."

To this requisition, which did not reach Sir Christopher till the 21st, six days out of the allotted fortnight, he replied at length. In this reply, written on the 23rd, he took leave, first, to declare, that he never designed a balustrade ; that persons of little skill in Architecture, did expect, he believed, to see something they had been used to in Gothic structures ; and *ladies*, he sarcastically adds, *think nothing well without an edging*. He further informs them, that he would have complied with the vulgar taste, but for the following reasons, given at length in my larger work, but observes, that there was already, over the entablature, a proper plinth, which regularly terminated the building, and as no provision was originally made, in his design,

* From some family papers belonging to the late Mr. Hunt, and given in full in my quarto Memoirs of Wren, p. 568.

for a balustrade, the setting up one in such a confused manner over the plinth, must break into the harmony of the whole machine, and, in this particular case, be contrary to the principles of Architecture. He also forcibly condemns the false taste, of vases and urns placed indiscriminately on all sorts of building, whatever were their character or destination.

HE, also, explains that it was his intention to have had statues erected on the four pediments only, which he thought would have been a most proper, noble and sufficient ornament to the whole fabric, and was never omitted in the best ancient Greek and Roman architecture; the principles of which, throughout all his schemes of that colossal structure, he had, he says emphatically, religiously endeavoured to follow. The pedestals for these statues he had already constructed on the building, which then stood naked for want of these sculptural finishings.

"IF I glory," concludes this venerable and venerated Sage, then in his eighty-seventh year, "it is in the singular mercy of GOD, who has enabled me to begin and finish my great work so conformable to the ancient model."

By this emphatic protest, the world may now learn, who placed this useless, expensive and ridiculous "*edging*," on the top of the already-finished entablature of Wren's admirable work. The first* drawing that I

* One of a series of the Cathedral made for BRITTON's Fine Arts of the English school, published by Messrs. Longman & Co. London, 4to. 1810.

made for John Le Keux's fine engraving of the west front of the Cathedral, from actual measurement I made at first, without the incumbering balustrade, and added it afterwards, and it is surprising how superior in effect the former was to the latter ; how much better the manly garment was without the French edging. Some years after this experiment, I passed some time in Oxford, hunting for documents for the Memoirs, and all the drawings and sketches by Wren, in the library of All Souls' College, are without the addition, which was evidently made after October 1717, when Wren declared his work finished, and the inapplicability and unsightliness of the fillagree, which much resembles Lord Peter's embroidery, shoulder knots and tags, clumsily stitched on to the handsome and comely coat, his father's legacy, which concealed and damaged the wholesome material and graceful cut of the original. I much question whether Wren had any thing to do with the tawdry atrocity he repudiated ; and as Professor Cockerell so religiously preserved every part of Wren's design in his skilful restoration of the ball and cross, so ought he to have been permitted to have unstitched the lace from Wren's graceful garment. The materials would have paid the cost of taking down, or would have served for the parapet of Rennie's London Bridge, which would have been so belaced by the Committee, had not the above letter of Wren, and the exhibition of some elevations of the bridges of the Holy Trinity at Florence, and of Neuilly in France, and some other unlaced bridges, carried it in favour of good taste,

to the manifest improvement of the structure, and the saving of several thousands of pounds of the revenues of the Bridge-house estates.

At the time when Wren wrote the preceding remonstrance, his rival, the pseudo-architect Benson, occupied his degraded chair ; but, if such a mind as Wren's could feel any compensation in the fall of a fellow man, even if that man were his enemy, his injuries were amply revenged, for Benson held the important and dignified situation, honoured by Jones and Wren, scarcely twelve months, with unparalleled incapacity.

AMONG Benson's first employments, he was commissioned to survey the buildings of the House of Lords, and presented a report to their Lordships in 1719, that the house, and the apartment called the Painted-Chamber, which adjoined it, were in immediate danger of falling. On receiving this intimation the Lords met in committee, to appoint another place for their meetings, during the taking down and rebuilding the edifice, when one of them suggested the expediency of having the opinion of some other persons. The new survey was made by competent judges, who, after carefully investigating the state of the buildings, reported to their Lordships, that they were in a sound and perfectly safe condition. In fact, Wren had continually kept them in repair, particularly when he added the Bishops' robing rooms, in William the Third's reign ; and the time they stood afterwards, till destroyed by the fire in 1834, when this very building was converted for the

use of the House of Commons, and taken down during the recess of 1851-52, proves the falsehood of Benson's, and the truth of the subsequent report, were fully established.

THE Peers, justly indignant at Benson's ignorance, incapacity or cupidity, or the admixture of the three ingredients, which went to the composition of the new Surveyor-General of His Majesty's works and buildings, presented an* address to the King to remove and prosecute him for the shameful delinquency. The Earl of Sunderland brought down His Majesty's most gracious answer to this complaint, in which he not only announced that he had dismissed Benson from the office he had so signally dishonoured, but had commanded that he should be publicly prosecuted by the law officers of the Crown.

BENSON's influence with the German camerilla, from whom he had purchased Wren's place and his own disgrace, was so great, that instead of a prosecution, he was solaced with the† presentation of the Wharf at Whitehall, worth above £1500 a-year for a term of thirty years. He was also further consoled by the assignment of a debt, in Ireland, due to the Crown, which he, no doubt, collected with becoming diligence. He was also rewarded by the reversion of one of the two offices‡, of auditor of the imprests, held by Mr. Harley, which he enjoyed after that gentleman's death.

* Ker's Memoirs, p. 110.

† Ibid, p. 111.

‡ Chalmers's Biog. Dict.

Who can say, after this, that in George's reign, desert in art was left uncrowned.

WREN, during this disgraceful conflict, left the Right-honourable, and Most-dishonourable combatants to their internecinal war, and took his departure for a more peaceful retirement, at his house near Hampton-Court, full of years and honours, saying* “*nunc me jubet fortuna expeditiús philosophari.*” In this philosophical retreat, the venerable patriarch passed the greater portion of the remaining five years of his calm contemplative existence, varied by occasional visits to London, to inspect the progress of the reparations going on at Westminster Abbey, and to view his great work, St. Paul's. The rest of his calm and peaceful days, was passed in the placid indulgence, after such a busy life, of contemplation and study; to which he added the daily consolation of the Holy Scriptures, which had been his guide through life, and in the Learning of which, he was well versed. Thus, this venerable sage, employed the leisure of his age, in those useful studies and pursuits, to which Providence had been pleased to call him.

AMONG these philosophic musings, Wren revised his calculations for the discovery of the longitude at sea, reviewed some of his former works on mathematics and astronomy, and other mental researches, which proved, that although time had enfeebled his limbs, which was his principal ailment, yet that great leveller had produced but little effect upon his mental powers,

* Parentalia.

which continued with a strength and vivacity seldom found in a nonagenarian, till within a few days of his closing scene. Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, for whose use Wren built the observatory at Greenwich, called Flamsteed House, took his departure from this planet, on the last day of December 1719, in his 74th year, shortly after he had prepared for the press, the whole, and had printed the greater part of his celebrated work "*Historia Cœlestis Britannica*," which was published in 1725, 3 vol. folio.

SIR RICHARD STEELE, in his "*Tatler*," the progenitor of those lively periodical essays, which gave so healthy a tone to English didactic literature, and elevated the sentiment, manners and general feeling of the people, felt so much the injustice practised upon the great architect, that he wrote, in No. 52, a character of Wren, in the form of an apologue. The intention of this eminent writer, was to show that although modesty is to the other virtues, what shade is to a picture, the cause of making the other beauties more conspicuous, it should bear a just proportion ; for if there be an excess, it hides instead of heightens the other virtues and beauties.

STEELE must have been disinterested in his motives, for we know not whether the gay guardsman, of thirty-eight, the lively man about town, was ever personally acquainted with the grave philosopher of seventy-eight ; the probability is, that he was not, but in his character of a news-writer, for this father of periodicals, contained news as well as speculations ; he had learned the

persecutions of the sage and determined to expose them.

HE named the hero of his fable Nestor, who was, he says, an unhappy instance of the foregoing proposition of the bad effects of an excess of modesty, or, rather, diffidence. "NESTOR," he continues, "was not only in his profession, the greatest man of that age, but had given more proofs of it, than any other man ever did ; but for want of that natural freedom and audacity which is necessary in commerce with men, his personal modesty overthrew all his public actions. Nestor was in those days a skilful architect, and, in a manner, the inventor of the use of mechanical powers, which he brought to so great perfection, that he knew to an atom, what foundation would bear such a superstructure : and they record of him, that he was so prodigiously exact, that for the experiment's sake, he built an edifice of great seeming strength ; but contrived so as to bear only its own weight, and not to admit the addition of the least particle. This building was beheld with much admiration by all the virtuosi of that time ; but fell down with no other pressure than the settling of a Wren upon the top of it. Yet Nestor's modesty was such, that his art and skill were soon disregarded, for want of that manner with which men of the world support and assert the merit of their own performances. Soon after this instance of his art, Athens was by the treachery of its enemies burned to the ground. This gave Nestor the greatest occasion that ever builder had, to render his name immortal,

and his person venerable : for all the new city rose according to his disposition, and all the monuments of the glories and distresses of that people were erected by that sole artist. Nay, all their temples as well as houses, were the effects of his study and labour ; inso-much that it was said by an old sage, ‘ Sure Nestor will now be famous, for the habitation of Gods as well as men, are built by his contrivance !’ But this bashful quality still put a damp upon his great knowledge, which has as fatal an effect upon men’s reputation as poverty, for it was said* ‘ the poor man saved the city, yet no man remembered him,’ so here we find, the modest man built the city, and the modest man’s skill was unknown. But surely posterity are obliged to allow him that praise after his death, which he so industriously declined while he was living. Thus, we see, every man is the maker of his own fortune ; and, what is very odd to consider, he must in some measure be the trumpeter of his own fame. Not that men are to be tolerated who directly praise themselves ; but they are to be endued with a sort of defensive eloquence, by which they shall be always capable of expressing the rules and arts whereby they govern themselves.” In a note to this paper, the distinguished author adds, “ that any attempt to declare his extensive merits, to enumerate his manifold inventions, or even to mention his literary productions and architectural works, in a note to a paper of half a sheet, to say nothing of the

* Eccles. ix. 15.

absurdity, would be an indignity to one of the most accomplished and illustrious characters in history."

If more be wanting, let his detractors and undervaluers, for such there are, even at the present day, read what the immortal NEWTON, who knew his expanse, says of Wren, Wallis and Huygens, that they were "hujus ætatis geometrarum faciliè principes."

THE passage referring to the experimental building, which fell on the weight of a Wren, and the subsequent burning of the city, has been supposed to refer to the report on the construction of the old Cathedral, and his plans for the reparation and alteration of it, so as to include Inigo Jones's fine portico and his intentions of reconstructing it in the Italian style, mentioned in page 157 of this work, and more of a personal opposition to Wren than to his plans. Wren also made another design, of which he constructed the beautiful model, described in page 271, and considered it to be the best, and he certainly was a competent judge, and would have executed with more satisfaction, had he not been over-ruled by those whom it was his duty to obey. He was also thwarted, as is well known, in the execution of his beautiful plan for rebuilding the city, by the haste of the citizens and the numerous disputes about private property.

THE burning of Lyons in Gaul (*Lugdunum in Gallia Celtica*), as related by Seneca, in his 92nd epistle, is the event which is considered to approach the nearest in history to the great fire of London, except that in the latter instance the whole city was not destroyed,

nor is it certain that it was by the malice of its enemies. Neither is there any such assertion in the * original inscription, written for it by Wren, who was neither a Papist nor the son of a Papist, but a sound Church-of-England man, and descended from as sound and orthodox Church-of-England family as ever lived, and who would not have omitted the fact had he believed it. In the present inscription, cut, effaced, re-cut and re-effaced, the destruction of the city was roundly charged upon the malice of the Papists. It has been recently expunged—ought never to have been there, and is never likely to be there again. Had Wren's more classical and truthful inscription to his own fine design been adopted, his friend Pope's satirical couplet of

“ London's proud column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts his head and lies.”

would never have been written.

AMONG other contrivances to annoy the venerable Wren, a rumour was raised that the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, which had been built between fifty and sixty years, was in a dangerous state. To ascertain the truth or falsehood of this report the Rev. Dr. Shippen, Vice-Chancellor of the University, commissioned William Townsend of Oxford, mason, and Jeremiah Franklin, and Thomas Speakman, of the same place, carpenters, able and experienced persons, to survey, strictly examine and report upon the state of the whole fabric. This duty they performed diligently, and reported to

* See p. 293 of my quarto *Memoirs of Wren*.

the Vice-Chancellor, under their * hands, the 8th of March 1720.

THE report of these able builders was, that the whole fabric of the theatre was in perfect repair and good order. None of the walls appeared in the least defective, and the roof, which had formerly been swayed or sunk in the middle about eleven inches, occasioned by the shrinking of some of the timbers and the great weight † of books formerly laid upon it, appeared to be in as good a condition as it was above twenty years before, when a similar examination was made. And they further certified that the whole fabric of the theatre was, in their opinion, likely to remain in as good repair and condition for one hundred or two hundred years yet to come.

THIS attack upon the great Architect proved as signal a failure as did that of Benson about the stability of the House of Peers. As a proof of the correctness of the preceding report, I surveyed the whole roof when stripped of its coverings for the great general repair it underwent, under the superintendence of Mr. Saunders, the architect, about thirty years ago. It was then discovered that the gilded cordage which

* See copy of the original in *Parentalia*, p. 337, and *ELMES's Memoirs of Wren*, p. 517.

† Probably the most distressing weight that could be placed upon the strongest warehouse floor in our docks, except, perhaps, wheat in the grain, and this portion of the structure is only what is technically termed a ceiling floor, constructed as a covering to the area below, and not a floor to bear the weight of many persons or goods.

went under the painted ceiling, representing the ropes that were stretched from pilaster to pilaster to support the *velarium* or awning by which the ancients protected the spectators in their theatres from the weather, and which in this building the artist has represented being drawn aside by genii to permit the arts and sciences to descend from heaven was of iron, and an essential part of the construction of the roof; but they were only of carved oak, applied after the picture was finished, to look more truthful than painting on a flat surface. There are good engravings of this admirable roof in Parentalia, and in my larger work, which I compared with the original, at the time before mentioned. Both are illustrated by an account from Dr. Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire, (chap. ix.,) which, from its technical peculiarity, and the author's intimacy with Wren, denotes that it was from the pen of the latter.

WREN'S long and useful life began now to draw towards a close, but accident, and, perhaps, the mortification at being removed in such an ungrateful manner from the office he had dignified so long, tended to shorten that life which activity and temperance had prolonged so much beyond the usual term of man's existence. Till his dismissal from the office of Surveyor-General he had principally resided at the house assigned to this officer, in Scotland Yard, Westminster. He afterwards occupied a town residence in St. James's Street, Piccadilly, and continued to superintend the repairs of Westminster Abbey, of which he

continued to be the Surveyor till his death. He also rented a house from the crown at Hampton Court, which he much improved. To this quiet residence the great Architect often retired from the hurry of business, and passed the greater portion of the last five years of his life in study and contemplation.

ON his last journey from Hampton Court to London, he contracted a cold which probably accelerated his death, but he died as he had lived, in placid serenity. The good old man had, in his latter days, accustomed himself to sleep a short time after his dinner, and on the 25th of February 1723 his attendant servant thought his master had slept longer than usual, went into his room and found him dead in his chair. From a cast * of a mask, taken shortly after his death, which I have often contemplated with veneration, the face appears as calm as if in sleep, resembling † that of the saints, and might well be called "falling asleep," for the innocence of his life made him expect it as indifferently as he did his ordinary rest.

THE funeral of Sir Christopher Wren, was attended by an assemblage of honourable and distinguished personages, from his house in St. James's Street to that Cathedral, which he designed and built to his own and

* When I last saw this memorial of the illustrious dead it was at Ardbraccan House, near Navan, Co. Meath, the palace of Dr. O'Beirne, Bishop of that diocese, in whose family Miss Wren was then residing.

† Sir RICHARD STEELE on Wren's friend, Dr. South, "Tatler," No. 61.

his country's honour. His mortal remains were deposited in the crypt, in the recess of the south-eastern window, under the choir*, adjoining to others of his family, who had gone before. This honoured spot, sacred to him and his kinsfolk, is separated from the aisle by dwarf iron rails, and on the plain black marble slab which covers his coffin, is inscribed in deeply cut letters ;



HERE LIETH

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, THE BUILDER OF THIS CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF ST. PAUL, ETC. WHO DIED IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD,
MDCCXXIII, AND OF HIS AGE XCI.

ON the western jamb of the recess of the window under which he is buried, is a handsome marble tablet, with a sunk panel, bordered by a moulding of eggs and tongues, which contains an inscription written by the Architect's son, Christopher, as follows :

SUBTUS CONDITUR

HUIUS ECCLESIE ET URBIS CONDITOR

CHRISTOPHORUS WREN,

QUI VIXIT ANNOS ULTRA NONAGENTA,

NON SIBI SED BONO PUBLICO.

LECTOR, SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS,

CIRCUMSPICE.

OBIIT XXV. FEB. ANNO MDCCXXIII. Æt. XCI.

FROM the architectural character and large size of the tablet, and by the last sentence, calling on the reader, who required his monument, "to look around,"

* See page 288 of this work.

it is but reasonable to conclude that it was intended for the body of the Cathedral, where the congregation assembled daily to worship, and the public to survey its beauties, rather than for the solemn sepulchral vaults, where it has appealed in vain to the few readers who had scanned its contents, for more than a century and a quarter.

THE malice of the commissioners pursued Wren beyond the grave, and condemned the explanatory epitaph to the "dim religious light" of the crypt, instead of the broad day of the superstructure. If cabal and intrigue prevailed in 1723, the justice and decision of ROBERT MILNE*, who had the architectural care of the cathedral till death removed him, to make way for Professor Cockerell, who yields nothing in love and admiration for their predecessor, redressed it nearly a century afterwards, by placing a large and handsome copy of the inscription in raised gilt metal letters on a well-proportioned marble tablet, affixed to the western front of the organ, and forming a sort of attic to the elegant veined marble screen to the choir, of the Corinthian order, designed by Wren, which supports it.

SEVERAL other epitaphs and complimentary verses, are given in Parentalia and my Memoirs, which the limits assigned to this work, will not admit; but a

* It was this gentleman, who, in my youth, set me upon the task of measuring and delineating this fine machine of architecture, as the old gentleman called it, and pointed out its beauties to me.

distich, said, in Parentalia, to have been intended by his son as a close to his pious epitaph, may conclude this chapter.

“Dii majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram*,
Spirantesque crocos, et in urnâ perpetuam ver.”

* JUVENAL, Sub. VII. The “tenuem et sine pondere terram,” a poetical paraphrase of the Roman wish to their deceased friends, S. T. T. L. or, “sit tibi terra levis,” is as complete an antithesis to the satirist’s proposed epitaph to Vanbrugh—

“Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
Laid many many a heavy load on thee,”

as was the styles of these distinguished architects.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME ACCOUNT OF WREN'S ARCHITECTURAL WORKS.

A. D. 1661 to 1723.

"A variety of knowledge proclaims the universality, a multiplicity of works the abundance, and St. Paul's Cathedral the greatness of Sir Christopher Wren's genius."

HORACE WALPOLE.

"Of him I must affirm, that since the time of Archimedes, there scarce ever met in one man so great perfection, with such a mechanical head, and so philosophical a mind."

ROBERT HOOKE.

In the Lansdowne collection of manuscripts, in the British Museum, is one by the eldest son of Sir Christopher Wren, countersigned by the great Architect. Being of undoubted authority, it was used throughout my quarto memoirs, to reconcile contradictory accounts in other biographies, and quoted in the notes where necessary. It is now given entire, as a remarkable breviary of the life of one of the greatest men of any time. It is as follows:—

Chronologica series vitæ et actorum, Honmi. Patris mei Dni. Chr. Wren, Eq. Aur. &c. &c. &c. Quem Deus conservat.

*Collata Octr. 1720. C. W.

Octob. 20, 1632. Ds. Christophorus Wren à Christophero natus est apud *Knogle Epi* in agro Wiltoniensi, Die ♀ inter 7am et (juxta)

* In Sir Christopher's hand-writing, two years before his death.

- Sam horam post merid. cyclo solis, 17 ; Lunæ 18 ; literâ dominicali B ; 3o. post bissextum. *Ex schedis avitis.*
1646. Admissus in Collegio de *Wodham*, Oxoniæ, commensalis generosus. *Ex sched. avit.*
1646. Gulielmi Oughtred, *geometriam, horologium, sciotericorum rationem*, ex Anglico idiomate in Latinum vertit, nondum sexdecim annos natus.
- 1650 [March 18]. Baccalaureus in artibus. *Fasti Oxon.* p. 772. Primus erat inventor *artis micrographiæ*, seu *delineandi et describendi* minutissima corpora et invisibiles antehac corporum partes, operâ microscopii. *SPRAT Hist. Reg. Soc. et ex autographis Dni. Paul Neil, Robt. Murray, Eq., D. D. Wilkins et Ward, Dnus. Hooke, Microg. Præf.*
1650. Observationes de *Saturno* et theoriam istius planetæ instituit, priusquam dissertatio Hugonii de isto argumento erat edita. *Hist. Reg. Soc.*
- 1653 [Nov. 2]. Electus in *societatem* collegii *omnium animarum* communi consensu. *Ex sched. avit.*
- 1653 [Dec. 12]. Ad gradum magisterii eVectus. *Ex sched. avit.—Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II. cap. 102.
1656. Primus erat inventor (Oxoniæ) nobilis istius experimenti anatomici, injiciendi quoscunque liquores in venas animalium, et massam sanguinis. *Phil. Trans.* No. VII. p. 128. *Nat. Hist. Oxon.* p. 30.
- 1657 [Aug. 7]. Electus professor Astronomiæ in Collegio Greshamensi Londini. *Ex sched. avit. et Fasti Oxon.* p. 820.
1657. Oratio inauguralis, habita in Collegio Greshamensi Lond. cum Cathedram Astronomiæ Professor electus conscendisset. Anno æt. 25.
1658. Solutio problematis propositi à Jean de *Montfert, ad Mathe-
seios professores, et alios Mathematicos in Angliâ, ut solvere dignarentur. *Imprim. et apud nos.*
1658. De cycloidibus, eorumque segmentis, necnon de sphæroidibus

* A name assumed by M. Pascal for this purpose.

- cycloidalibus, et segmentorum cycloidalium solidis rotundis. *M.S. apud nos.*
1658. Literæ ad D. Pascal, Parisiis, De doctrina cycloidum Literæ à D. Pascal, De eodem argumento, datæ Parisii, 1658.
1658. Prælectiones Greshamenses in astronomiam Kepleri.
1658. Epistolæ ad D. Dominos de Carcavy et Pascal; Parisiis; cum solutione problematis ab illis missi et propositi, *de cycloidis ejusque solidis, centrisque gravitatis. M.S. apud nos.*
1659. Lecturæ Anglice et Latine Greshamenses de luce et refractione.
- 1660 [Jan. 31]. Resignante clarissimo viro Doctore SETHO WARD, postea Episcopo Sarisburiensi.
- 1660 [Feb. 6]. Electus professor *Savilianus* astronomiæ in academiâ Oxon. Ex autographo electorum. CHRISTOPHORUM WREN, A.M. Collegii Omnium Animarum socius electus erat in professorem astronomiæ Savilianum in academiâ Oxon. Feb. 5, 1660, admissus 15 Maii sequentis. Doctoratum postea in jure civili suscepit; et regiæ majestati rei architectonicæ prourator supremus, sive generalis, meritissimus audet. *Hist. et Antiq. Univer. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 42.*
- 1660, vel ante ab ipso. Descriptio Machinæ inventæ ad delineandas lineas exteriores cujuscunque rei, opticâ projectiones. *Phil. Trans. No. XLV. p. 898. cum fig.*
- 1661 [Sept. 12]. Ad gradum Doctoralum in jure civili promotus *Oxoniciæ. Fasti Oxon. p. 820.*
1661. Ad eundum gradum *Cantabrigiæ.*
1662. Prælectiones Astronomicæ Oxoniæ lect. de problematibus sphaëribus: de Pascale, De re nauticâ verum (*apud nos*).
1663. Selenographia vera, *i. e.* globus hunc in solido, opere geometricè, formatus (hunc orbem selenesphaërio expressum), serenissimo Regi Carolo II. cujus amplitudini quia unus non sufficit, D. D. D. I. *Apud nos.*
1663. Clarissimo ac eruditissimo viro Doctori THO. WILLIS, suppetias attulit in opere suo celeberrimo, *cerebri anatome*, utpote qui dissertationibus istis interesse, et circa partium usus rationes conferre

solebat : qui insuper plurimus cerebri et calvariae figuras, quo exactiores essent operæ, eruditissimis suis manibus delineare non fuit gravatus. WILLIS, *Anatome cerebri*.

Præter suppetias ab hujus manu (Doctori Lower) in dissecando peritissima allatas, celare non decet, quantas insuper acceperim a viris clarissimis, domino THO. MILLINGTON, M.D., necnon a domino CHRISTOPHERO WREN, L.L.D. et astronomiæ professore Saviliano ; qui utrique dissectionibus nostris cerebrò interesse, et circà portium usus rationes conferre solebant. Porro prior ille vir doctissimus, cui privatò observationes meas, et conjecturas, de die in diem proponebam, me animo incertum, et propriæ sententiæ minùs fidentem, suffragiis suis sæpè confirmabat. Ceterum alter vir insignissimus Doctor WREN, pro singulari quâ pollet humanitate, plurimas cerebri et calvariae figuras, quo exactiores essent operæ, eruditissimis suis manibus delineare non fuit gravatus. WILLIS, *Anatome Cerebri*, præfatio. Lond. 1664.

1666. Civitatem Londinensem flammæ diluvio absorptam metitus, Ichnographium seu modulum novæ urbis excogitavit et delineavit. *Ex autographo de mandato regis Car. II. Ex autographo.*

Ecclesiarum parochialium, operumque publicorum LONDINENSIS post fatale incendium. Architectus et Ædilis. *Per decretum Regis, Archiep. Cant. Epi. Lond. cæteræ q. commiss.*

1667. Epistola ad Doctm. Carolm. Scarborough Dc. ossibus brachii, etc. Anotomiæ Anguillæ fluviatilis, longæ plusquam 40 digitos circuitu circa (umbilicum) 6 el amplius, cum fig. *Experimentum Anatomicum, in canem de abscidendo splene, et methodo ganandi, apud nos.*

1669 [Jan.] Doctrina motus lex naturæ de collisione corporum. *Philosoph. Trans. No. 43, p. 867.*

1669 [Mar. 28]. Ædificorum regalium per totam Angliam præfectus ; per literas patentes sub magno sigillo *Ex literis patentes.*

1668. Primus invenit *lineam rectam requarem* esse cycloidi ejusque *partibus* : quod testimoniis confirmatur nobilissimi ac serenissimi Dni. Vicecomitis Brouncker, Regalis Societatis Præsidiis, et doctissimi viri Doctoris Johannis Wallis, etc. *Philos. Trans. No. 98.*

1668. *Theatrum Oxoniæ Sheldonianum* extruxit: cujus fundamenta jecit 1664.

1668. *Theatrum* quod in toto hoc nostro Britannico (annon et terrarum orbe?) nec habet ullum sibi par, nec ullum secundum *theatrum* quod exoptet *Apollo* templum, *Musæ* Parnassum, *Plato* Academiam, *Aristoteles* Lyceum, *Cicero* Tusculanum, *Gratiæ* omnes *Veneresq.* donum. *Gul. Walker*, S. T. B.

1668. Capellam Collegii Emmanuelis *Cantab.*

1668. Telonium *portus Londinensis.*

1669. Generatio cylindroidis hyperbolici, elaborandis lentibus hyperbolicis accommodati. *Philos. Trans.* No. 48. Inventio machinæ, cujus beneficio lentes elaborentur hyperbolicæ cum fig. *Philos. Trans.* No. 53. Vide insuper *Hist. Reg. Soc.* per Dm. SPRAT, Sect. XL. Part II.

1671 ad 1677. Structuram columnæ colosseæ speculatoriæ Londinensis, ex ordine Dorico, inchoavit et perfecit.

1671. Portam urbis, vulgo dictam Temple Bar.

Ab annos 1670 ad annos 1711. Quinquaginta et tres ecclesias parochiales Londini, cum tholis, turribus, pyramidus, et ornamentis erexit.

1673 [Nov. 12]. Architectus et commissionarius ad ædificandum novam basilicam Dvi. Pauli Lond. per mandatum regis sub magno sigillo, *ex mandato R.*

1675. Novæ basilicæ Dvi. Paulæ Lon. primum posuit lapidem.

1678. Mausoleum divi CAROLI REGII MARTYRIS (de Mandato Regis, et suffragiis inferioris domûs parliamenti) excogitavit et delineavit; at, eheu conditionem temporum! nondum perfecit.

The following is in Sir Christopher Wren's writing on the cover of the book of designs in the collection of All-Soul's College.

MAUSOLEUM DIVI CAROLI MARTYRIS

Excogitatum, Anno Salutis 1678,

de Mandato Serenissimi Regis Caroli secundi,

Consentaneo cum votivis Inferioris Domûs Pariamenti Suffragiis;

at (eheu conditionem temporum!)

nondum exstructum.

- 1677—1680. Bibliothecam magnificam collegii incepit S. S. Trinitatis Cantobrigiæ, et erexit.
1680. Illustrissimæ *Societatis Regalis* ad Philosophiam promovendam Præses. *Vid.* Archiv. Soc. Reg.
1682. Capellam collegii Regini : apud Oxon extruxit.
1683. Fabricam novi palatii Regalis de Winchester incepit, et tantum non 1685, perfecit. [Perfecit Georgius R.*]
1684. Portam Medii Templi proxime plateam.—*Wren M. S.*
Surrexit impensis Societ. Med.^a Templi. 1688.—*Inscription over the gateway.*
1685. Electus in publica regni comitia, parliamentum nempê, Burgensis Burgi de Plympton in agro Devonæ. *Rot. Parl.*
1689. Bis electus in Parliamentum pro Burgo de Windsor. *Rot. Parl.*
1692. Hospitium Regale militum emeritum de Chelsea funditus, extruxit, et exegit.
- 1698 [Mar. 11]. Architectus et sub-commissionarius (ut vocatur) ad reparandam antiquam basilicam Dvi. Petri Westmonasterii. *Ex originali.*
- 1698 [Mar. 11]. Instaurationem antiquæ basilicæ Dvi. Petri Westm. suscepit et continuavit ad hunc annum, 1720. *Ibid.*
1699. Hospitium Regale nauticum de Greenwich excogitavit et incepit et continuavit ; perfecit feliciter Rex Georgius II.
1700. Electus in Parliamentum Burgensis Burgi de Weymouth et Melcomb Regis in agro Dorsetensis. *Rot. Parl.*
1675. Novæ basilicæ Dvi. Pauli Lon. primum posuit lapidem :—
1710. Supremum in epitholio et exegit.
- 1718 [April 26]. Exauctoratus est : Anno. æt *Octogesimo sexto*, et præfecturæ quæ operum regionum *quadragésimo nono*.

† ἀρχὴς ἡ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἔτερον ὅς ἐκ ἡδὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ. ‡ καὶ ἐδὲν τέτων
τῷ Γαλλίῳ ἐμελεν. ☩

* The words included within the brackets are an addition in pencil, apparently by Sir C. W.

† Πραξ των Αποστ ζ' ιη'.

‡ *Ib.* ιη' ιζ'.

IN the following list, I shall give, with very few exceptions, the date only of the finishing of each building.

1. SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN's first architectural appointment was that of Deputy Surveyor-General of the Royal Works and Buildings, in September 1661, and his first works the reparation of old St. Paul's, the restoration of Windsor Castle, and the King's new palace at Greenwich, etc.

2. [1663] Fitted up the choir of Old St. Paul's for divine service, and designed the new fortifications of Tangier, which had been given to Charles II as part of the dower of Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, whom he had recently married.

3. [1663] Made plans, elevations and sections of Old St. Paul's. for the purpose of the proposed alterations and repairs. He also began the Sheldonian theatre, which will be enumerated when finished, and is only mentioned as being his first executed building.

4. [1663] * The chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, built at the sole cost of his uncle, Bishop Wren.

[1666] The great fire of London.

5. [1666] Made a design, and laid it before Parliament, for rebuilding the City of London, and a detailed estimate of the damage sustained, which amounted to £10,780,500. He was appointed this year Architect to St. Paul's and for rebuilding the whole city.

6. [1666] Fitted up a portion of the old cathedral for divine service.

7. [1668] Finished the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, which was opened with much ceremony in the following year.

8. [1669] Reported on the state of St. Paul's Cathedral.

9. [1669] The new Royal Exchange opened by Sir William Turner, the Lord Mayor, and the Gresham Committee, ninety-nine years after its opening by Queen Elizabeth.

10. [1672] Temble Bar finished.

* The dimensions and architectural descriptions, etc. of these buildings are given in my quarto *Memoirs of Wren*.

11. [1677] The Doric column, commemorative of the fire of London, finished.

12. [1677] The parish church of St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, and its fine steeple finished.

13. [1677] Finished the chapel of Emanuel College, Cambridge, under the auspices of Archbishop Sancroft.

14. [1678] Finished the Custom House, London.

15. [1678] Restored and enlarged the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill, Tower Street, called in ancient records *St. Maria ad Montem*, to suit the purpose of the united parishes of St. Mary-at-Hill and St. Andrew Hubbard, the latter church having been destroyed, whilst the walls and ancient tower of the former were not much injured.

16. [1679] The parish church of St. Michael-on-Cornhill, to which the lofty tower, a humble imitation of that at Magdalen College, Oxford, was added, from Wren's designs, in 1722.

17. [1679] The parish church of St. Olave-Jewry, on the western side of the street called the Old Jewry, finished about this time.

18. [1679] The beautiful little elliptical church of St. Benedict or Bene't Fink, Threadneedle Street, a free imitation of the twin churches by the Piazza del Popolo, Rome. It was taken down after the rebuilding of the present Royal Exchange, to make room for the row of houses on its eastern side, which reach from Threadneedle Street to Cornhill.

19. [1679] About this time he finished the parish church of St. Dionis-back-church, in Fenchurch Street and Lime Street, and added the tower and steeple in 1684.

20. [1679] Also the parish church of St. George Botolph, on the western side of Botolph Lane, near Billingsgate.

21. [1679] The parish church of St. Sepulchre, opposite the north end of the Old Bailey, about this time, the tower is the ancient one repaired,

22. [1679] Flamsteed House finished about this time

23. [1680] The parish church of St. Magnus, London Bridge, to which he added the tower and spire in 1705.

24. [1680] Also the parish church of St. Mildred, in the Poultry.

25. [1680] About this time the parish church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street.

26 [1680] The parish church of St. Lawrence Jewry, at the corner of Gresham Street and Guildhall Yard. In this church lie the remains of Archbishop Tillotson.

27. [1680] About this time also the parish church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, and also

28. [1680] That of St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey, on the south side of Fish Street, Doctors' Commons.

28. [1680 or rather earlier] Repaired that of St. Mary-Woolnoth, Lombard Street, which was afterwards rebuilt on a larger scale, to serve two parishes, in 1719, by Nicholas Hawksmoor, a worthy pupil of Wren, in a singularly bold, solid and original style.

29. [1680] Also the parish church of St. Michael-le-Quern, Queenhithe, formerly Quern or Cornhithe, Upper Thames Street.

30. [1681] Design, estimate, etc., for a mausoleum for Charles I. (*See* p. 283).

31. [1680] Designed the pedestal and superintended the erection of Le Sœur's fine equestrian statue of Charles I. at Charing Cross.

32. [1689] The parish church of St. Michael, Bassishaw, or Basinghall Street, so named after an opulent mercantile family of that name which resided there.

33. [1680] The parish church of St. Swithin, London Stone, Cannon Street, the interior and construction of which are worthy the attention of the architectural student. I can speak from many inspections of the skill of the latter, during a thorough repair, in or about the year 1826. The LONDON STONE, enshrined in a stone case, is the remains of the ancient Roman miliarium, from which the distances from the metropolis were measured, and upon which the rebel, Jack Cade, laid his sword, when he proclaimed himself King of England, in the reign of Richard II.

34. [1680] The parish church of St. Bartholomew, in Threadneedle Street, except its ancient tower It was taken down to en-

large the area round the Royal Exchange, and its site occupied by the Sun Fire and Life Assurance Office.

35. [1681] The parish church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, a plan and section of which, measured and delineated by myself during its repairs, with full description and dimensions, are given in my quarto memoirs of its Architect.

36. [1681] The parish church and its fine but now diminished spire of St. Bridget or St. Bride, Fleet Street, which was farther embellished by its Architect in 1699.

37. [1681] Also the church and incomparable steeple of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside. An elevation and section of the latter, measured and delineated by me when last under repair, with descriptions, etc., are given in my quarto memoirs of its Architect.

38. [1681] The parish church of St. Clement Dane, in the Strand, to which the present tower and steeple were added in 1719, by James Gibbs, the architect of the churches of St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Martin in-the-fields, the Ratcliffe Library, Oxford, etc.

39. [1681] The parish church of St. Anne and St. Agnes, in St. Anne's Lane, at the northern end of the General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand.

40. [1681] Rebuilding the part of the Temple destroyed by the great fire.

41. [1682] The parish church of St. Peter, on Cornhill.

42. [1682] The parish church of St. Antholin, Watling Street.

43. [1683 *et seq.*] The episcopal palace, Winchester, for and at the sole expense of Bishop Morley. (*See* page 300).

43. [1683] The royal palace, at Winchester, for Charles II.

44. [1683] The parish church of St. Allhallows the Great, Upper Thames Street, near the Steel Yard.

45. [1683] The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (*See* page 302).

46. [1683] The parish church and tower of St. Augustin and St. Faith; the elegant spire, which has been recently spoiled by some modern Goths, was added in 1699. The *united* parishes, being unable to agree upon an architect to superintend the reparation of Wren's work, each employed their own "Surveyor," one whitewashed the interior and the other ruined the spire.

47. [1683] The parish church of St. Bene't, Paul's Wharf, on the north side of Upper Thames Street, and near to its western end. This parish is distinguished as the birth and burying place of Inigo Jones. (*See* page 55).

48. [1683] Also the parish church of St. James, Westminster, situated between Piccadilly and Jermyn Street, built at the expense of Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, and other of the principal inhabitants of that district, which was, before that time, a precinct of St. Martin-in-the-fields, and made parochial by Act of Parliament, the third, James II. (*See* page 375).

49. [1683] The parish church of St. Mildred, Bread Street, was also finished this year. In this parish John Milton was born, which event is commemorated on a tablet outside the church.

50. [1684] The entrance and frontispiece to the Inner Temple was began this year and finished, according to the inscription, in 1688.

51. [1684] The church of the united parishes of St. Allhallows and St. John the Evangelist, Bread Street.

51. [1684] The parish church of St. Martin, Ludgate, on the north side of Ludgate Hill, just inside the side whereon stood Lud Gate, in the western wall of the original city of London.

52. [1684] The Chapter House of the Dean and Chapter of St. Pauls.

53. [1685] Finished the parish church of St. Alban, on the east side of Wood Street, Cheapside; an indifferent attempt, as far as style, of the ancient pointed mode.

54. [1685] Also the handsome, capacious and conspicuous parish church of St. Bene't Gracechurch, at the corner of Fenchurch Street and Gracechurch Street. The interior is a double cube of sixty feet by thirty.

55. [1685] Archbishop Tennison's Library, near St. Martin's Lane, Westminster, in conjunction with his friend John Evelyn.

56. [1685] The handsome, well-proportioned parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, Doctors' Commons, near St. Paul's.

57. [1685] The parish church of St. Matthew, Friday Street.

58. [1685] Also that of St. Clement, Eastcheap, and

59. [1685] That of St. Mary Abchurch, near Cannon Street.

60. [1686] The handsome capacious parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn, one of the finest and most appropriate churches for the service of the reformed Church of England, that has yet been built. The Tower, which was not destroyed by the great fire, was repaired, and faced with stone, in 1704.

61. [1687] The parish church of St. Margaret Pattens, at the corner of Rood Lane and Tower Street. In ancient times this part of the City was the principal residence of the Patten Makers, hence its second name.

62. [1687] Repaired the banqueting house, Whitehall. (*See* page 312.)

63. [1687] Finished the parish church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane. It was taken down by the authority of an act of Parliament in 1830, to widen the approach to London Bridge.

64. [1689] Finished the College of Physicians, in Ivy Lane, Newgate Street, which has, since the removal of that learned body to Pall Mall East, been desecrated to all manner of vile and unhealthy purposes. A full account, with two plans, an elevation, and a section of its singular and well-imagined theatre is given in my larger work on its architect. The gilt globe on its summit, intended, perhaps, to intimate the universality of the healing art, gave occasion to Garth, in his "Dispensary," the scene of which is laid in this building, to say

"A golden globe, placed high with artful skill,
Seems, to the distant sight, a gilded pill."

65. [1690] Finished the Royal Military Hospital Chelsea. *See* page 291.

66. [1690] Also the parish-church of St. Edmund the King, on the north side of Lombard Street, near the eastern end.

67. [1690] And that of St. Margaret, Lothbury, opposite the north front of the Bank of England. It is one of Wren's best works.

68. [1690] Began the modern part of Hampton Court Palace,

part of which was finished and occupied by King William and Queen Mary in 1694. *See* page 322.

69. [1691] Surveyed and repaired the buildings used for the sittings of the House of Commons.

70. [1691] Built the Mint, or Moneyer's Hall in the Tower of London.

71. [1691] Finished the parish church of St. Andrew in the Wardrobe near Doctors' Commons, where the Royal Wardrobe formerly stood, and so much spoken of in Pepy's Diary, when his kinsman and patron, Admiral Montague, first Earl of Sandwich, resided there as keeper of the Royal Wardrobe.

72. [1692] Finished the library, the quadrangle called Nevile's Court, and other new buildings, at Trinity College, Cambridge.

73. [1692] Made the New Road from Hyde Park Corner to Kensington Palace, which was then becoming a favourite residence of King William III.

74 to 77. [1694] Morden College, Blackheath, Dartmouth Chapel, in the same village, Bohun's, or Boone's, Chapel, etc. *See* page 329.

78. [1694] Finished the parish church of St. Allhallows, Lombard Street, a handsome spacious building, with an entrance only from the street, the Church itself being in Ball Alley.

79. [1694] Also the spacious and well-proportioned parish church of St. Michael-Royal, on the eastern side of College Hill, near Queen Street, Cheapside. In this church is Hilton's fine picture of Mary Magdalen washing Christ's feet, presented to the parish by the Directors of the British Institution*, through the intervention of the author of this work.

In this year, the choir of St. Paul's was finished as far as the stone work and vaulting, and the scaffolding, both inside and out, removed. Evelyn, who was a profound critic in architecture, as well as in the other branches of the fine arts, declared † it to be a piece of architecture without reproach. *See* No. 81. -

80. [1694] Converted the Benedictine Convent, in the Savoy,

* *Memoirs of Wren*, page 469 and note.

† *Diary of this date.*

into a prison for state prisoners, who were then about to be tried, and as barracks for troops.

81. [1694] Built apartments for state prisoners of higher rank, in the Tower of London.

82. [1695] Finished the plain substantial parish church of St. Mary Somerset, on the north side of Upper Thames Street, near Broken Wharf. It received its second name from the ancient church being built near to a small haven called Somers' Hut or Hithe.

83. [1695] Also the parish church of St. Vedast Foster, with its original, and somewhat beautiful, steeple, on the eastern side of Foster Lane, Cheapside.

84. [1695] Repaired the celebrated old English mansion of Audley End, in the County of Essex, about which, a correspondence, as to its dilapidated state, between the Earl of Suffolk, who then occupied it as tenant under the crown, having been purchased by King Charles I., and Wren, as Surveyor-General, is given in my Memoirs of Wren, page 477 and note.

85. [1696 *et seq.*] Began the completion of Charles the second's unfinished palace at Greenwich, and built the additional wings, etc. to adapt it for a Royal Naval Hospital, by command of Queen Mary II. See page 337.

86. [1696 *et seq.*] The parish church of St. Christopher, Threadneedle Street, taken down for Sir Robert Taylor's western wing of the Bank of England; its church yard is now the garden in front of the Director's parlour, and visible on the western side of the first court from Threadneedle Street.

87. [1696 *et seq.*] ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. The choir of St. Paul, being finished, was opened for Divine service on the 2nd of December 1696, the day appointed for public thanksgiving for the victory and treaty of Ryswick. See page 341.

1699. The beautiful chapel near the north-west corner of St. Paul's Cathedral, called the Morning Prayer Chapel, was opened for public worship, with appropriate ceremony. *To obviate mistakes in the number of Wren's works, his great work is only numbered in this place, however many times mentioned.*

88. [1699] The church of St. Allhallows Barking repaired.

89. [1699] Finished his exquisitely beautiful and geometrical tower and steeple of the ancient parish church of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, the body of which, not being much damaged by the great fire, was repaired by Wren, but the present body was built by Mr. Laing about twenty years ago. An engraving, and description of this master-piece of construction, is given in my larger work, p. 486 and notes.

90. [1705] Finished the parish church of Isleworth, Middlesex. (*See* Lyson's *Environs*, vol. III. p. 1004.)

In 1708 the outer cupola of St. Paul's was covered with lead.

91. [1708] Appointed one of the Commissioners for building the fifty new churches, ordered by Act of Parliament, and wrote his opinions, as an architect, thereon. (*See* page 371, et seq.)

In 1710, when Wren had attained the seventy-eighth year of his age, the highest stone of the lantern on the cupola of St. Paul's was laid, with masonic ceremony, by Mr. Christopher Wren, the architect's son, attended by his venerable father, Mr. Strong the master-mason of the Cathedral, and the lodge of freemasons, of which Sir Christopher was for so many years the acting and active master. (*See* page 372.)

92. [From 1698 to 1723] The reparations and additions to Westminster Abbey.

93. [1711] The spacious and handsome church of St. Mary Aldermary, on the east side of Bow Lane, Cheapside, built at the expence of Mr. Henry Rogers, a pious and munificent citizen. The interior, although bold in design and ingenious in construction, is a defective imitation of the ancient pointed style, with the additional defect of an altar-piece of the Roman composite order.

94. [1711] St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, began in 1692, and finished about this time.

95. [1711] Sion College, Aldermanbury, for the use of the collegiate body of "the President and Fellows of the College of Sion, within the City of London," consisting of the parochial clergy of the City, with the Bishop of London as visitor. The ancient building was destroyed by the great fire, the present edifice began about two years afterwards, subsequently enlarged, and the new library added.

96. [1711] The building for the Royal Society on a site of ground presented by Mr. Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, on his estate on the south side of the Strand, which is fully described in the Letter-Book of the Royal Society, vol. II. p. 220, and in my larger work, p. 237.

PUBLIC HALLS. [1668 to about 1700] All the Public Halls of the Livery Companies of the Corporation of London, which, according to the second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, as regards the London Companies, printed by order of the House of Commons, April 25, 1837, amount now to eighty-nine, as the Commissioners excluded from their list, several Companies which were practically extinct or nearly so.

THEY consist of twelve chief Companies, whose arms are emblazoned, in their rotation, on shields over the capitals of the attached pillars in Guildhall, where the Livery meet in Common Hall. Of these Halls Wren built the following between 1668 and about 1700.

97. [No. 1 of the twelve chief companies] MERCERS' HALL, on the north side of Cheapside, extending behind the houses, from Ironmonger Lane to Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, in each of which streets it has an entrance. This fine and substantial building consists of the hall, court room and offices, a handsome chapel, clerk's, architect's and beadle's offices, and residences for the clerk and beadle.

98. [No. 2] GROCERS' HALL, in Grocers' Hall Court, on the north side of the Poultry. Wren's building was so capacious that a portion of it served for the use of the Bank of England when first established. It was taken down some years since, and the present commodious building erected by the late Thomas Leverton, Esq. By

the enlargement of the Bank, and the continuation of Princes Street from Mansion House Street into Lothbury, the rear front of the hall now opens into that street, and gives the company an entrance for carriages.

98. [No. 3] DRAPERS' HALL, on the north side of Throgmorton Street, a short distance westward of Austin Friars, Old Broad Street. It is a spacious and commodious building, replete with every accommodation for so wealthy a corporation. They are built on the site of the ancient palace of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, in Henry the Eighth's reign. It has been since repaired and a new street front, before Wren's quadrangle, by Robert Adam, the architect of the Adelphi Buildings, and other edifices of that mixed Greek and lower Roman style which stamps his works.

99. [No. 4] FISHMONGERS' HALL, well remembered by ancient citizens for its wine cellars, wherein they drank their genuine old port and sherry, drawn from the casks, and viewed the bridge shooters and boat racers. It has given its name "Shades" to many others. Wren's buildings have given way to the new bridge and the present plain, substantial and commodious building, by H. Roberts, Esq.

100. [No. 5] GOLDSMITHS' HALL, in Foster Lane, eastward of the General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand. Wren's building was taken down about 1831, and the present larger, splendid, substantial, ornate building, erected by Philip Hardwich, Esq. R. A. etc. soon afterwards.

101. [No. 6] SKINNERS' HALL, Dowgate Hill, Cannon Street. A spacious and commodious pile of building fit for this opulent Company and its officers. Like that of the Drapers, it has been substantially renovated, and a new street-front added by Robert Adam, of Adelphi celebrity.

102. [No. 7] MERCHANT-TAILORS' HALL, on the south side of Threadneedle Street, nearly opposite the South-Sea House. The hall, or banqueting room of this building is reckoned to be one of the finest in Europe, and has been the scene of some of the most distinguished banquets ever held in the City of London.

103. MERCHANT-TAILORS' SCHOOL, on the east side of Suffolk

Lane, consisting of a large hall, or school room, with studies for the junior masters, a colonnade and court-yard for the pupils, a library, head master's study, and spacious residence for the same reverend officers.

104. [No. 8] HABERDASHERS' HALL, on the north side of Gresham Street West, at the corner of Staining Lane. This pile of buildings consists of the hall, or banqueting room, the fine foliaged ceiling of which was destroyed a few years since, and a common-place piece of vulgar lath and plaster put up in its stead. There are also houses and offices for the clerk, beadle, etc. next Gresham Street, and a chapel, down Staining Lane.

105. [No. 9] SALTERS' HALL, on the western side of St. Swithin's Lane, Cannon Street. Wren's buildings were taken down a few years since, and a new Hall, and offices on a larger scale, were erected by George Smith, Esq.

106. [No. 10] IRONMONGERS' HALL, on the north side of Fenchurch Street, nearly opposite Mark Lane. The street front is in a bold Italian style, of a more recent date.

107. [No. 11] VINTNERS' HALL, on the south of Upper Thames Street, and the approach to Southwark Bridge. The front court and gardens at the back of the Hall, which looked on to the Thames, was a minor *Campus Martius*, at the beginning of the French revolutionary war, for the Vintry Ward volunteers to drill and practice their military exercises.

108. [No. 12] CLOTHWORKERS' HALL, on the eastern side of Mincing Lane, Fenchurch Street. It was not entirely consumed in the great fire, and some ancient wainscoting, with figures of James I. and Charles I., and a window of stained glass, decorate the dining hall.

Other Halls of the minor Companies, many of which are of great wealth, although the first twelve have had precedence, and certain privileges and estates in the province of Ulster, in the kingdom of Ireland, given them by James I. for aiding him with funds for

establishing a Protestant plantation, or colony, in that portion of the sister island.

109. [No. 13] **DYERS' HALL**, on the north side of Great College Street, Dowgate Hill, recently rebuilt on a larger scale.

110. [No. 14] **BREWERS' HALL**, on the north side of Addle Street, Aldermanbury, a spacious, commodious hall and offices.

111. [No. 15] **LEATHERSELLERS' HALL**, at the bottom of St. Helen's Place, taken down a few years since, and rebuilt on a larger scale, by the late W. F. Pocock, Esq.

112. [No. 18] **CUTLERS' HALL**, on the south side of Cloak Lane, Dowgate Hill.

113. [No. 19] **BAKERS' HALL**, on the eastern side of Harp Lane, Great Tower Street.

114. [No. 21] **TALLOW-CHANDLERS' HALL**, on the west side of Dowgate Hill, a handsome and spacious building, with an interior colonnade of the Tuscan order; and, for London, the singular addition of a circular basin, and a fountain throwing up a jet of water from a conch shell, blown by a Cupid.

115. [No. 23] **GIRDLETS' HALL**, on the eastern side of Basinghall Street. Although the business of a girdle maker is no longer extant among city trades, yet the ancient and worshipful Master and Wardens of the art and mystery of the Girdlers of London, are Trustees for several very excellent charities.

116. [No. 25] **SADDLERS' HALL**, on the north side of Cheapside, between Gutter Lane and Foster Lane.

117. [No. 27] **CORDWAINERS' HALL**, on the north side of Distaff Lane, Doctors' Commons. The Hall has been remodeled and thoroughly repaired, and a handsome stone-fronted building, for offices, etc., added to it, by Robert Adam.

118. [No. 28] **PAINTER-STAINERS' HALL**, on the western side of Little Trinity Lane, Upper Thames Street. The livery hall, or refectory, is a handsome, well-proportioned apartment, with a plaster-modelled ceiling, painted with allegorical subjects, by Fuller. This hall is worthy of notice for the fine collection of pictures, by Palmatier,

Brull, Hungis, Houseman, Reynolds, etc., many of whom were members of the Company.

119. [No. 29] CURRIERS' HALL, on the south side of London Wall, near Wood Street.

120 [No. 30] MASONS' HALL, in Masons' Alley, between Basinghall Street and Coleman Street; a small but commodious structure formerly used by the Grand Lodge of Freemasons; since that time for various other purposes, as for auctions, debating societies, and more recently for a tavern and public dining-rooms.

121 [No. 31] PLUMBERS' HALL on the eastern side of Great Bush Lane, Cannon Street. It was pulled down some years since, and its site covered by lofty warehouses, but a doorway, marked by dressings and the arms of the company, carved in relief, indicate its site and owners.

122 [No. 32] INNOLDERS' HALL, at the corners of Great and Little College Streets, Dowgate Hill.

123 [No. 33] FOUNDERS' HALL, in Founders' Hall Court, Lothbury, taken down for the improvements between that Street and Moorfields.

124 [No. 36] COOPERS' HALL, on the western side of Basinghall Street, near to the eastern entrance of Guildhall. It is a large, substantial building, the banqueting room of which, wainscoted to the height of fourteen feet, and paved with marble, was formerly used for drawing the state lotteries. It has commodious offices, and residences for the clerk, beadle, and other officers of the company.

125. [No. 37] TILERS' AND BRICKLAYERS' HALL, on the south side of Leadenhall Street. It was formerly let as the synagogue of the Dutch Jews in London, but is now occupied by a literary and scientific institution, and called Sussex Hall, after his Royal Highness, the late Duke of Sussex.

126. [No. 41] JOINERS' HALL, on the east side of Joiners' Hall Buildings, Upper Thames Street, near Dowgate Dock, but has been let to a packer, and used as extensive warehouses.

126 [No. 42] WEAVERS' HALL, on the eastern side of Basinghall Street.

128 [No. 46] **PLASTERERS' HALL**, Addle Street, Aldermanbury. A substantial and spacious hall, court room, and offices.

129 [No. 47] **STATIONERS' HALL**, on the western side of Stationers' Hall Court, Ludgate Street. A spacious, and well-proportioned hall, with court rooms, clerks, and beadles dwelling houses, warehouses for their stock, etc. The hall and offices underwent a thorough repair, the eastern front cased with stone, and the roofs newly guttered and slated by Robert Milne, Esq. in 1805. There are some excellent pictures of the English school in the court room, presented by Alderman Boydell, who was a past master of the Company.

130. [No. 38] **APOTHECARIES' HALL**, on the eastern side of Water Lane, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, one of the largest halls in the City, with elegant court room, spacious dining hall, for the members of the society, pictures and bust of benefactors. The warehouses, drug mills, laboratories, etc. are of more recent date.

131. [No. 68] **PINMAKERS' OR PINNERS' HALL**, on the north side of Old Broad Street, near Winchester Street. The Livery Hall was, for some years, used as a dissenting meeting house, and subsequently the whole building as commercial chambers and offices.

132. [No. 79] **COACH-MAKERS' HALL**, Noble Street, Foster Lane, Cheapside, is a spacious and was a handsome Hall, with court room, offices, etc., built originally for the worshipful Company of Scriveners, which falling into poverty, sold it to the wealthier Company of Coach and Coach-Harness-Makers. They, in their turn, went downwards in the wheel of Fortune, let it for balls, concerts, a dancing school, and, during the first years of the French revolution, to the less harmonious purpose of a political debating society, in which many demagogues, and some orators of after distinction, made their earliest rhetorical essays.

To these authenticated and enumerated works, may be added many of the Alms-houses of these Companies, humble, but like those of the Merchant-Tailors' Company, at Lee, founded by Mr. Bohun, or Boone,

before mentioned (*see* page 329), bear the Hall-mark of a master in his art, many fine mansions in the city, as the Deanery House of St. Paul's, and its entrance from St. Paul's Church Yard; one on Lawrence Pountney Hill, Cannon Street; two on College Hill, with their sculptured pediments; one in the Old Jewry, formerly used by the London Institution, till it was removed to their new building, in Finsbury Circus; and many others, which have been pulled down, in my remembrance; two in Chichester, besides repairing the Cathedral, which would fairly raise the number of Wren's public works to an average of at least one hundred and fifty—an unprecedented number for one man.

NEARLY all these great works can be surveyed from one spot, the stone gallery of the cupola of St. Paul's, whence they may be viewed as in a panorama.—“CIRCUMSPICE.” Let any one who undervalues either the talents or the genius of WREN, and there are such, even in the profession he so raised, adorned and honoured, mount the dragon's back, on Bow Church, descend through the varied courses of masonry, their curious and scientific junctions and bondings, the columns and arched buttresses, adorning and supporting at once, from finial to foundation: let them ascend the mystic windings, from the bottom to the top of St. Bride's steeple; the vaulted roofs, and geometrical intricacies between the two cupolas of St. Paul's, and discover the hidden mysteries of the *catenaria*, which pervades its section, and upholds the cupolas, cone

and lantern, as one self-supporting body, of that wondrous edifice, which contains less material than Westminster Bridge, as M. Labelye, the architect of that failing erection, boastingly asserts, in his published account of it : let them search into his earliest work, the before-mentioned roof of the Sheldonian Theatre : let them, in fact, examine, any of his works : or, let them look at and admire Professor Cockerell's beautiful pictorial combination of our great master's works, arranged in harmony around the majestic St. Paul's, like the Muses around Apollo, and say—who is the man able to dim the unassuming genius of

CHRISTOPHER WREN ?

FINIS.

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